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For many years, there has been a legacy of studying Islam of China (and Chinese society) by the scholars outside China. While this field of study has been flourishing in recent decades, this edited book is a contribution that translates and introduces the Chinese scholarship of Islamic studies to the English-speaking world. While translating and editing this book project, we attempt to faithfully preserve scholars' original ideas in the Chinese language, and struggle expressing eloquently in English.

As a result, this edited book is the combined efforts of many years of joint transcultural research in both Sinology and Islamic studies as well as translation from Chinese to English. I am grateful to BRILL for its invitation to edit this book project and to Chan Ching-shing Alex for his dedication to engage the initial but most important translation work. I am also grateful to chapter contributors of this book, the colleagues of BRILL, especially Qin Higley for her patience throughout the process of translation and editing, Victoria Menson for her work in the later stage of book production, Professor Michael Dillon's contribution and Wendy Smyer-Yu who read and copy-edited the drafts. In different stages of the editing work, research assistance from Christopher Cheng, Agnes Fong, Sukie Cheung, Martin He, Matthew Ng and Lam Kit proved to be important. And I am grateful to Professor Barbara Mittler, director of the Heidelberg Centre for Transcultural Studies (HCTS), for welcoming my visiting research, so that some work has been done at the Karl Jaspers Centre at Heidelberg University. And I owe special thanks to the research fellowship generously offered by Freiburg Institute of Advanced Studies (FRIAS), where my family is deeply thankful for the trust of Professor Bernd Kortmann and the wonderful support from Britta Büst, Helen Pert and Petra Fischer.

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Although this book is far from perfect, my hope is that our efforts may pioneer an intellectual attempt of introducing Chinese scholarly interpretation and writing of China's Islamic histories and intellectual traditions. As a Chinese Christian scholar engaging in Islamic studies, my transcultural study has been inspired and driven by Isaiah's vision of longing for lasting peace among nations and peoples through the divine knowledge, which is still greatly needed in the world today:

They will neither harm nor destroy on all my holy mountain, for the earth
will be filled with the knowledge of the Lord as the waters cover the sea.

ISAIAH 11:9

Ho Wai Yip

August 2016

at the Karl Jaspers Centre for Advanced Transcultural Studies,
Heidelberg University

Introduction

This important collection of articles by leading Chinese scholars of Islamic studies reflects current thinking about the past and present condition of Islam in the People's Republic of China. The authors include some of the most respected scholars of Islam writing in Chinese today and many of them are familiar beyond China as the authors and editors of influential articles and books.

Although this volume deals with Islam throughout China, it has a particularly strong focus on the north-west; this is in many ways the most important region for the study of Islam in China as its Muslim communities are not only the most populous and distinctive but the region is at the intersection of religious, ethnic, linguistic, cultural and national borders. Most of the contributions relate to the Hui (Chinese-speaking) Muslims who live primarily in what the Chinese government refers to as 'compact communities' in the provinces of Gansu and Qinghai and the Ningxia Hui Autonomous Region. There are also chapters on the Uyghurs of Xinjiang, officially the Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region, although it is a matter of some regret that there are no Uyghurs among the authors, many of whom are of Hui origin. An important feature of this book is the attention paid to the Sufi orders: the role of these networks, which embody an inner-directed and mystical aspect of Islamic philosophy, is crucial to the understanding of Muslim communities in both historical and contemporary China.

Localisation and Nationalisation

In his initial chapter the editor-in-chief of the volume, Jin Yijiu, locates Chinese Muslims in the wider geography and history of the nation, analysing the slow and gradual process whereby Islam, as a foreign religion, came to be 'localised' and 'nationalised'. Muslims struggled to adapt to Chinese culture and society while retaining the fundamental precepts of Islam, and the dialogue between Confucianism and Islam created an important discourse on religion and ethics after the challenge of expressing Islamic concepts in the Chinese language had been met.

Mosque Architecture

Mosques are the most prominent distinguishing features of any Muslim community and Feng Jinyuan examines the development of mosque architecture in China, drawing attention to the tension between the desire to retain

a traditional Middle Eastern or Arabic style and the pressure to build in a Chinese fashion; this was particularly important after times of conflict when Muslims adopted a lower profile. Feng describes methods of construction in detail with reference to a number of representative mosques and pays particular attention to the distinct tradition of Xinjiang.

Zhou Chuanbin traces the introduction of Islam into Tibet and the establishment of Muslim communities in this predominantly Buddhist land. Feng Zengle focuses on 'Chinese-style' features found in mosques and other Islamic cultural artefacts such as holy relics, stone engravings and paintings, and argues that what has evolved in Muslim communities is a hybrid Sino-Muslim culture rather than a 'Sinification' of Islam.

Chinese Islamic Studies Past and Present

Gao Zhanfu, who has written extensively on the Hui Muslims of the northwest, considers the way in which Chinese Islamic Studies has developed during the 20th century, acknowledging both the impressive intellectual tradition, from the Tang to the Qing dynasty, on which this was based and the work done by both Han and Hui scholars before 1949. Post 1949 Sino-Muslim studies are covered in more detail, particularly the resurgence of academic activity after the Cultural Revolution and the new phase of research and publications on Islam which began in 1979. Gao's review of the published literature on Islam in China is an invaluable source of information on the key texts, both traditional and contemporary.

Ma Shinian focuses on Zhou Mi, a scholar and prolific author of the Southern Song period (1127–1279), whose books provide a detailed narrative history of the settlement of Muslims in China up to the Mongol conquest and offer information on the meanings of different terms for groups of Muslims in China that have been somewhat neglected by Chinese and Western scholars. Zhou Mi's work remains relevant for our understanding of the origins of the Hui community.

Xinjiang

The conversion of Satuq Bughra Khan (d. 955), Sultan of Kashgaria, is widely considered to be the beginning of the acceptance of Islam by the Turkic people's of Xinjiang; Hua Tao examines the sources for the Sultan's conversion, the historical context and its long-term impact on the region. Li Jinqi examines the spread of Islam in the region of Kucha (in present day Aksu Prefecture to the north of the Taklamakan desert) from the 10th to the 16th century after

the conversion of Satuq Bughra Khan. This is a period that includes the reign of the Qarakhanid khanate, the Qarakhitai khanate, also known as the Western Liao dynasty, and the Chaghatai khanate of the Mongol empire.

In the 17th and 18th centuries Kashgaria was riven by conflicts between two religio-political movements, the White and Black Khwajas, which preceded the independent regime of Yaqub Beg. Chen Huisheng analyses the nature of this conflict and the suppression of Islamic movements by the Manchu Qing dynasty.

Sufism in China and Xinjiang

Chen Guoguang outlines the emergence of the Naqshbandii Sufi order under the Eastern Chaghatai khanate and its evolution into a major religious force in north-west China from the 14th century onwards. The Naqshbandiyya and its subsidiary orders influenced religious life among the Hui as well as the Uyghurs but this chapter focuses on Xinjiang and the Khwajas.

Zhou Xiefan describes the spread of Sufism from the north-west throughout Muslim communities in China Proper, the area that is predominantly Han, and its influence on prominent Chinese Muslim scholars such as Wang Daiyu, Ma Zhu and Liu Zhi. He also gives further information on the evolution of the Naqshbandiyya of Xinjiang into four subgroups—the Ikhwani, Ishaqiyya, Ishiqiyya and Jahriyya—and the Black and White Mountain Sects.

Yang Huaizhong, the doyen of Hui studies in the Ningxia Hui Autonomous Region, writes on the parallel network of Sufi orders among the Hui Muslims of north-western China, where it had spread via the Hexi corridor. He emphasises the importance of Sufism as a focus of resistance to the Qing imperial court and argues that there has been a syncretisation between neo-Confucianism and Sufism.

Further information on the Sufi orders is found in Wang Huaide's analysis of the formation of the Ishan groups as Sufis are also known, although Wang suggests that Muslim orders that use the term Ishan are distinct from other Sufi groups.

Chinese Muslim Thinkers

Qin Huibin discusses the work of Wang Daiyu, one of the major thinkers and writers of Chinese Islam during the Ming dynasty. In this philosophical chapter he concentrates on two major aspects of Wang's thought: the origin and formation of the cosmos, and his presentation of the attributes of Allah, but also his approach to cosmology more generally and to epistemology from an Islamic perspective.

Gao Zhanfu considers the work of another influential Chinese Muslim thinker, Liu Zhi, who flourished in the early part of the Qing dynasty and whose writings, and particularly his translations of sections of the Qur'an and other Islamic classic texts into Chinese, greatly influenced the Xi dao tang (西道堂) or Hall of the Western Pathway, one of the most interesting and distinctive Muslim religious orders in China.

Ma Dexin (1794–1874) was a Chinese Muslim scholar of the nineteenth century who followed in the tradition of Wang Daiyu and Liu Zhi. Ma not only wrote extensively about the doctrine, practices and philosophy of Islam but also compared Islam and Confucianism, attempting to find common ground while also elucidating differences. Wang Jianping's chapter on Ma examines the Islamic concepts in his thought and his life and works in considerable detail. Yang Guiping also contributes a chapter on Ma Dexin, relating his scholarly work to his role as a religious leader during the Muslim 'Panthay' rebellion in Yunnan in the 1850s.

Islamic and Chinese Society

Ma Tong is the scholar who has contributed most to our understanding of the history of the Sufi orders in China and their contemporary relevance in his two books on the Hui Sufi *menhuan* system, and its origins. His chapter on the basic characteristics of Islam in northwest China is an excellent summary of his life's work: it returns the reader to the Gansu and Ningxia regions and analyses the relationship between traditional Gedimu Islam, the Ikhwanī and Xi dao tang orders, and the Khafiyya, Jahriyya, Qadiriyya, and Kubrawiyya Sufi orders (*menhuan*) with their subdivisions of over forty branches. Li Xinghua's study of Islam in Beijing is a timely reminder that the religion did not flourish only in the far flung parts of the empire but also had a strong following in the imperial capital, a tradition that continues today.

Islam in China has long been a minority interest in both China and the West but has recently become a matter of international concern in the wake of media coverage of the escalation of violence in Xinjiang. This reporting has unfortunately not led to an appreciation of the complex role of Islam in Xinjiang or in the wider society of China. Almost all of the work of these eminent scholars has hitherto been available only in Chinese; publication in English will enable Western readers to gain a greater understanding of their thinking and of these important minority communities in China.

Michael Dillon

Independent Scholar, UK

Section 1



The Localization and Nationalization of Islam in China

Jin Yijiu

Abstract

Research on localizing and nationalizing foreign religions of a place, an ethnic group, or a nation has brought out universal meanings. Such a dual process of both localization and nationalization however, does not alter the normativity of the foreign religion, but rather enriches the character of the religion being investigated. This chapter discusses the dual process of how Muslims in China have integrated different local traditions and ethnicities with traditional Chinese cultures.

Keywords

Isla – localization – nationalization

Man-made religions, particularly world religions, have commonalities: they, when being disseminated across borders and through different regions, are localized and nationalized to a place, an ethnic group, or a territory. This common phenomenon in social and cultural history is exemplified by the three greatest world religions disseminated in different times across empires. Buddhism, for example, originated from Lumbini (Nepal) in the 5th Century BCE, and has, since then, spread around the world. Buddhism spread north to China, Japan, and Korea, and also expanded its two-pronged geographical influence to the South, to the territories of Sri Lanka, Burma, Thailand, Laos, Cambodia and Vietnam, and so on, with a few exceptions in Afghanistan and Central Asian regions where Islam has replaced Buddhist influence. This dissemination of Buddhism is an example of religious assimilation in different

* This article was originally published in *Studies in the World Religions* (Shijie Zongjiao Yanjiu 世界宗教研究) 1 (1995).

nations and cultures, manifesting different local and national characteristics. Likewise, Christianity arose in Palestine at the beginning of the Common Era, and since then, has cleaved into three branches, namely, Orthodox Christianity, Catholicism, and Protestantism, with each representing their historical and geographical influences with distinctive local and national characteristics. But what about Islam in China?

The rise of Islam was followed by its gradual transformation from an Arab religion to a world religion in terms of its localization and nationalization—by letting people of newly conquered regions accept or convert to Islam and thus as a result of mutual influence between the local people and newly arrived Muslims. The multicultural and interactional synergy of this mutual influence between Muslims and other ethnic groups thus paved a path for further assimilation and for the development of a Muslim population integrated with the indigenous peoples of the newly conquered regions. The dual process of Islamic localization and nationalization in China, in other words, its “Sinicization,” has drawn attention to day-to-day practices, a Chinese Islam today is the result of this historical process. Islam is a Chinese religion practiced by more than 20 million Chinese adherents and is a part of China’s multifaceted culture. Islam in China has undergone great changes in comparison with its origins or Islam outside China and bears its localized and nationalized particularities. These changes were unavoidable, inexorable, and unique to China.

1

Historically, the localization and nationalization of Islam was accompanied by Muslim armies marching out of the Arab Peninsula and successfully conquering other lands. Such a dual process of localization and nationalization was not meant to be an abandonment of the teachings in the Quran in terms of the fundamentals of the faith and its related practices or learning other religious doctrines and ethical principles, but was, within the permissible scope laid down by and enshrined in the Quran, a message of faith and spiritual life originating from Islam and adapted to the cultural specificity of the conquered. It intended to fulfill the spiritual and even material needs of the local people. Such indigenizing attempts were further steps in the creation of a harmonious atmosphere of assimilation without eliminating indigenous cultural practices and traditions.

History shows that the global dissemination of Islam resulted from cycles of Muslim conquests of other lands during which cultural assimilation was manifested in cultural practices. In general, the regions conquered by the Muslim

army were more economically and culturally advanced societies. By the mid-7th Century AD, these societies on the outskirts of the Muslim territories were well established with feudal levels of production. Muslims of that time only exported Islam, the Arabic language, and the Quran, which was written in Arabic, to their neighbors. They did not have more advanced modes of production, technology or cultural knowledge than those they conquered and ruled over. Instead, Muslims benefited materially and spiritually from the lands they conquered and their local populations. As rulers of subjects of different ethnic and religious origins, the Arab Muslims lived with the inhabitants they ruled, employed surviving officials of the regimes they had defeated, relied upon local merchants who supplied commodities and daily necessities, released captives or “prisoners of war,” and allowed Muslims to cohabit with local inhabitants, to court and take concubines, and to keep female slaves. Moreover, in everyday cultural exchanges, Muslims learned the various facets of foreign customs and cultural life, thus enriching their own culture and religious understanding. The younger generations of Muslims, in contrast with their ancestors, could not isolate themselves from the conquered cultures as their empire expanded. On the other hand, the conquered, having been converted to Islam, naturally brought their indigenous customs and religious beliefs to the religion. In other words, “those who converted to Islam, who even became devoted believers, could never understand Islam in the way that the Arabs understood it. Every nation has to interpret its understanding of Islam in accordance with its religion and tradition; when using the vocabularies of Islam, they had to imitate them and combine them with its own ancient religion and traditions to arrive at their own terminology.”¹ By the beginning of the 9th Century AD, a translation movement had been launched in the Islamic world. No matter whether it was before or after this movement, religions, ideologies, and living customs that Muslims encountered in foreign lands had an impact on Islam’s segmentation into different branches and schools and on the different interpretations of the Quran. Nowadays, Islam is present in innumerable regions and countries in the Middle East, Western and Central Asia, South and Southeast Asia and Africa that invariably demonstrate their own ethnic distinctiveness and local characteristics. None is identical to the others and this substantiates the notion of a multifaceted Islam in terms of geographical and cultural differences.

Real life cases also demonstrate that Islam was both localized and nationalized after having been disseminated. African Islam shows some assimilated elements of primitive religions (e.g. animism); Muslims in mountain areas

1 Amin Ahmad, *Fajr al-Islam Arabia: Islamic Cultural History*, trans. Na Zhong (纳忠) (Beijing: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1982), 102.

of Malaysia allow believers to worship spirits, whereas coastal Muslims are allowed seaside ablution every Wednesday and thereafter pray in the mosque. Obviously, the former has demonstrated practices of some remaining primitive mountainous religions; while the rituals of the latter originated from the spread of Hinduism across the Indian Ocean. Following the dissemination of Islam in North America, Muslims gather on *Jum'a* (Friday) in the mosque (or Islamic Centers); the number of *Jum'a* congregants in the mosque, however, is fewer than congregants who attend on Sunday afternoon, the second *Jum'a* being conventionally synchronized with Christian church-goers. In some cases, Muslims cannot go to a mosque nearby or rent a church because their mosque (or Islamic Center) is still being constructed, or they do not have enough funds to construct a mosque for their community.

In the same way, Islamic localization and nationalization has also occurred in China. The first generations of Arab Muslims in China were only allowed to settle there under the condition that they follow the laws and customs of China. After acquiring permanent residency, these Muslims married natives and raised their children in China. They could only adapt their customs and habits to the social environment in which they lived as they interacted with the inhabitants of the host culture. Muslims from Persia and Central Asian regions brought along their already localized and nationalized characteristics of Islam, thus demonstrating non-Muslim elements with respect to their ethnic origins. Like the Arab migrants in China, however, their Islamic beliefs did not remain unchanged since they adopted the host culture's requirements for them to follow indigenous customs and laws. A foreign religion must adapt to the religious needs of the people of the new territories in which it was propagated and enhanced by the cultural traditions of that people if it is to be accepted. The majority of Muslims in China are Chinese, not Arabs, Persians or descended from the peoples of Central Asia; Chinese Muslims believe in or have converted to a foreign religion, but their national identities can hardly be converted. Thus, the crucial questions of the local dissemination of a foreign religion hinges upon the religious needs of the inhabitants and how inhabitants react, view, and understand such religious dissemination based upon their enculturation. It could be said, therefore, that Islamic localization and nationalization in such contexts is inevitable.

Among the fifty-six nationalities [ethnic groups] in China, Muslims belong to ten nationalities with the majority population of those nationalities believing in Islam. The cultural diversity of these Islamic believers in China is projected in a cultural spectrum in terms of the locales they live in, the national traditions they uphold, the religions they believe in, the ways of life to which they are habituated, the economies they develop to a more or lesser extent,

and the chronological order in which they accepted Islamic localization and nationalization. This diversity is characterized by their geographical differences and has led to different levels of localization and nationalization in the different ethnic groups of China.

2

The localization and nationalization of Islam was a slow and gradual process. The process of Islamic localization and nationalization needed self-regulation and self-improvement in order to be well adapted to China and, as such, it required two conditions: First, it adopted or assimilated the external forms of Chinese traditional culture; and, second, in terms of thought and ideas, Islam was syncretized to Chinese schools of thought and cultures in harmonious coexistence.

In terms of the forms of Islamic localization and nationalization, Chinese Islamic architecture displayed distinctively Islamic characteristics. The mosque, the center of Islamic religious life, is often recognized as a symbol of Islam. Liu Zhiping has conceived of three historical stages during which Islamic architecture was dispersed in China. The first stage, as Liu points out, ranged from the Tang to the late Yuan dynasty. “All the exteriors were basically constructed with Arabic architectural styles, but later Chinese Islamic architecture assimilated elements of Chinese approaches and woodwork and gradually became a hybrid style that was a distinct characteristic of Islamic architecture.”² The second stage, beginning in the early Ming Dynasty and lasting till the end of the Opium War (1840–1842 AD) “relied on Islamic architecture extensively, used *kilnhalls* (後窯殿), and featured a trend of beamless construction that became a norm of Islamic buildings.”³ Liu continues, “In the Qing dynasty, Islamic architecture became a style in its own, featuring the extensive use of quadrangles...”⁴ Regarding Islamic buildings in Xinjiang, Liu adds, “Arabic architectural styles were extensively used, preserved and realized with native building materials and stood for a distinctive style of Xinjiang Islamic constructions... some constructions, with varieties of round or flat domes... combined with open or closed halls to meet the architectural norms

² Liu Zhiping (劉致平), *Islamic Architecture in China* (*Zhongguo yishilianjiao jianzhu* 中国伊斯兰教建築) (Urumqi: Xinjiang renmin chubanshe, 1985), 6.

³ Ibid.

⁴ Liu, 8.

of internal and external congregation hall constructions.”⁵ From the Opium War to the Republic of China that began in 1911, Islamic architecture moved into the third stage and “adopted concrete methods and modular structures found in multi-storey buildings as a result of acquiring construction methods from the West.”⁶ The development of mosque architecture largely reflects Islamic localization and nationalization in China, both historically and at present.

Notwithstanding styles, settings, ornamentation, and so on, Islamic architecture required mosques be built with certain standards. These standards included congregation halls facing Mecca (in China, this meant qfacing West); the *qiblah* facing West; the *mihrab* locating the *Qiblah* at the front right-hand side of the congregation hall; walls inscribed with Quranic verses and Arabic calligraphy; as well as minarets and a Moon Sighting Hall erected at the front of the mosque. Most mosques in China, however, did not exclude influences from Chinese traditional culture; the roofs of some mosque were ornamented with animal figures,⁷ some mosques were ornamented with bat-faced roof tiles; others featured bats spreading their wings (examples can be found in Xi’an); even the good-fortune characters found extensively in Chinese culture, namely, fortune (*fu* 福), prosperity (*lu* 祿), and longevity (*shou* 壽) were engraved on the surfaces of roof tiles found in some mosque construction (such as in Yangzhou). Most mosques avoided ornaments modeled on animals and replaced them with ornamental plants, in the dynamics of seeing these figurations through the eyes as “like a beast but, not a beast; eyes but no eyeballs like a beast when seen at a distance, but an ornamental plant when viewed closely.” Such ornamentation was deeply influenced by Chinese aesthetics (such as seeing nature as constantly changing and with no fixed configurations). From these ornamental plants on roof shields at the mosque the organic amalgamation between Chinese and Islamic architecture can be seen. Other creatures like dragons, kirin, deer, and even plants and incense vases modeled along rooftops, screen walls, engravings and painted walls became indispensable parts of mosque constructions in China.⁸ The Eight Trigrams (*bagua* 八卦) have even been identified on the roof tiles in Yangzhou mosque and similar markings are also found on wood carvings.⁹

5 Ibid.

6 Liu, 9.

7 Liu, 76.

8 Liu, 86–87, 206; Islamic Association in Shandong (*Shandong yishilan jiou xiehui* 山東伊斯蘭教協會), *Mosque in Shandong (Shandong qingzhensi* 山東清真寺) (Jinan: Qilu Shushe, 1993), 38, 39, 50, 51, 97.

9 Islamic Association in Shandong, 16–17.

In 1990, when the mosque at Fu You Road, Shanghai was refurbished, colored drawing and woodcarvings were found in the main hall and other minor halls. Design of these decorations includes the blossoms of the peony and pomegranate, and

... patterns and engravings in these halls, representing traditional Chinese folk cultures, were also found on the beams with patterns of tendrils of grass; the other side with the patterns of *Taichi* (太極 the supreme ultimate that could refer to Allah). A wooden engraving of a camel and a bat with spread wings depicted with two peaches and branches in its mouth were placed side by side on the beams in the main hall. In the middle of the hall, the Chinese character, *shou* (壽: longevity), criss-crossed with patterns of bats, was engraved and patterned on the *minbar*, and the characters symbolizing the folk expression of Chinese good-fortunes, *fu*, *lu*, and *shou* (福, 祿, 壽). A treasure basin, full of ingots, was engraved on the main beam of the hall, just over a special fortune pattern (*ruyi* 如意). A plaque, with the Chinese characters 太思米 (*taslim*—*submission to Allah*), was hung on the main beam engraved with two bats. On the window bars, gourds were crafted in wood; the columns of the main and the posterior halls were designed with wooden ornaments of coins strung with arrows, and thus the whole design was made more gorgeous.¹⁰

The above description shows how Islam had its own way of adapting to Chinese culture through cultural self-transformation. In other words, Islam adapted to traditional Chinese cultures as it was dispersed through different regions. In terms of customs, costumes, and languages, Muslims obviously adapted their lives to the host cultures. Muslims continued to obey the fasting disciplines laid down by the Quran, (Arabic: *sawm*), but their eating habits changed from using their fingers to using chopsticks; ordinary Muslims in China, except for *imams* (*ahong*), do not wear a *thawb* (traditional, robe-like Arab garment) similarly, Muslim women are not required to wear a headscarf, or *hijab*, in China, except under some conditions and requirements according to Islamic law. Muslims most often wear their own dress, use their own native languages

10 Ma Ji (馬驥) and Halietai (哈萊泰). "The Cultural Characteristics of Shanghai Islam from Viewing Woodcraft of Beams and Columns in the Mosque at Fuyou Road," (*Cong Fu You Lu qingzhensi jianzhu qi qiaoliangshang de muke caihui kan Shanghai diqu yishilan wenhua tese* 從福佑路清真寺建築起橋樑上的木刻彩繪看上海地區伊斯蘭文化特色), *Shanghai Muslim Newsletter* (Shanghai Moshilin Tongxin 上海穆斯林通訊) 3 (1990): 12.

to communicate and to name their children, and only use Arabic when reciting the Quran, the *shahadah* [profession of faith], *khutba* [sermons] and other *Suwar* (*sura* or verses) found in the Quran.

Based upon the above accounts of Muslim cultures in China, it is apparent that fundamental beliefs, rituals, customs and other specific regulations laid down by the Quranic verses remain unchanged. Islam, however, was and has been receptive to Chinese cultural influences in many ways and in response to specific needs of Muslims who adapted to local cultures, a central theme in cultural exchanges between Islamic peoples and Chinese. This adaptation is a key factor in the process of the integration of Islam into Chinese traditional culture in the form of mutual influences and cultural exchanges.

3

Islam is a foreign religion that has converted Chinese ethnic groups as a result of the long period of cultural assimilation, the processes of which have been realized by individuals, in the accumulative practices of Muslims, and between Islamic and Chinese traditional cultures. According to Zhao Can (趙燦), who wrote in the Qing Dynasty, during the rule of Emperor Kangxi (康熙) (1661–1722 AD), “From the Tang to the Ming dynasties, there have been so many Islamic classics published and circulated in China, whose works and ideas are difficult to disseminate; whose meanings are hard to interpret. From one generation to another, few people had a good grasp of the basic doctrines and principles of the Islamic classics and major Islamic scholars in China; this led many Muslims to confusion and decadence as if they were drunk and dreamt throughout a long night without being roused.”¹¹

Another scholar, Hu Dengzhou (胡登洲) (1522–1597 AD) of the late Ming dynasty, showed his intent to “translate Islamic classics into Chinese” by “matching original Arabic vowels and intonations with Chinese phonemes, comprehending texts with precision and without exaggeration so as to produce authentic and vividly translated texts”¹² in order to disseminate Islamic classics in Chinese for those Muslims who could read and would pass them to the following generations of Chinese Muslims. According to existing historical archives, Hu was probably the first member of the Islamic *ulama* (from the Arabic: *‘alim* scholar) to be conscious of the need for Chinese translations of

11 Zhao Can (趙燦), preface to *A Genealogy of Islamic Scholars and Canons* (*jingxuexi zhuanpu* 經學系傳譜) (Xining: Qinghai renmin chubanshe, 1989), 1.

12 Zhao, 1–2.

major Islamic classics. The teachings of Hu laid a milestone in Islamic teachings in China because he advocated teaching translated Islamic classics in the Chinese style *madrasah*. On the one hand, the development of Scripture Hall Education (*jingtang jiaoyu* 經堂教育) trained a crucial number of *ulama* and *imam*, who gave more treatises and sermons focusing on the further development of Islamic localization and nationalization in China. On the other hand, in spite of the limited circulation and readership of Hu's translations (if he completed any as none are extant), and given that these translated Islamic classics might not be archived by other scholars, Hu set an example for other students and followers to continuously collect Islamic translations throughout the generations so as to promulgate Islam in hope of, in the future, addressing a large population of readers who would benefit from these translations. If, as some argue, Islam completed its transformation from a foreign religion to a native religion in the Ming dynasty, Hu made a substantial contribution to this process by conscientiously translating Islamic classics into Chinese and promoting a school of pedagogy devoted to the development of a localized, nationalized Islam. The *Kutadgu Bilig* (福樂智慧) and *Divanu Lugat al-Turk* (突厥語大辭典), written in the ancient Uyghur language in Xinjiang, 11th Century AD, are among the classics that established a Uyghur legendary tradition. These classics were considered "a citadel of self-preservation for traditional cultures when faced with challenges from Arabic culture."¹³ In other words, the process of localization and nationalization of Islam had not been completed at the time in the Xinjiang region.

Historically, some wealthy or Confucian Muslims who were not able to translate, interpret, or preach original Islamic classics (nor had they even acquired sufficient Islamic knowledge), supported Islamic activities such as funding these translations and the teaching of Islamic classics, thus patronizing Islam in China. Normally, these patrons, whose contributions should be acknowledged, came from the upper strata of Muslim society.

The cultural fusion between the Islamic intellectual stratum and the Confucians co-existed in harmony and without contradictions. He Hanqin (何漢敬) in the times of Emperor Shunzhi (順治) of Qing Dynasty (1644–1661 AD), after reading Wang Daiyu's (王岱輿) *A True Explanation of the Right Religion* (*Zhengjiao zhenquan* 正教真詮), commented that "these (Islamic)

13 Yusuf Khass Hajib (優素福·哈斯·哈吉甫), *The Wisdom which brings Happiness* (*Kutadgu Bili* 福樂智慧), trans. Hao Guanzhong (郝關中) (Beijing: Minzu chubanshe, 1986), 6.

thoughts are similar to our Confucian thoughts.”¹⁴ Another renowned scholar, Ma Minglong (馬明龍), clearly stated that, “our religion (Islam) and Confucianism have a commonality: every believer ought to be respectful to one’s parent and loyal to one’s lord.”¹⁵ Liu Zhi (劉智), in his preface to *The Metaphysics of Islam (Tianfang xingli 天方性理)* wrote, “The Islamic treatise is similar to the preaching of Confucius and the Manchus.”¹⁶ In fact, these Chinese scholars recognized Islam as being syncretized with Chinese traditional thinking, and thus they facilitated the fusion of Confucianism and Islam in China. In regard to this “civilizing process,” Sayyid Ajjal Shams al-Din Omar (賽典赤·瞻思丁), the regional governor of Yunnan in the Yuan Dynasty, promoted both traditional Chinese and Islamic culture by mediating conflicts between different races and nationalities and ordering construction of Confucian temples. He also introduced Confucian education into Yunnan.

The integration of Islam into traditional Chinese cultures succeeded through the original ideas, thoughts and texts in Islam being re-interpreted by Confucian scholars: this “Islamic thought in Confucian terms” is found in the writings of Wang Daiyu (王岱輿), Ma Zhu (馬注), Liu Zhi, Ma Fuchu (馬復初) and others. Similarly, this process was found in different Sufi orders or sects (*menhuan* 門宦), “saintly descent schools”, following the same rules of interpretations laid down by these scholars, especially of the Xi dao tang (西道堂) (西道堂—the Hall of the Western Pathway), which was founded by Ma Qixi (馬啟西) and is one of the three major Chinese Islamic schools. Here I further elaborate two key aspects of Xidao thought: First, in describing the origin of universe, notwithstanding the insistence on Allah being the world’s Creator who is the highest among all, the aforementioned scholars used Confucian terms to express and interpret Islamic ideas. Wang Daiyu argued for instance that, “Basic human nature comes from nothingness, from that which is limitless, from the non-polarity (*wuji* 無極) effacing the Absolute (*taiji* 太極), the presence of all things and creatures. First, there emerged the Circle, ascending boundlessly, the unlimited zenith of Heaven, to which is attributed the polar force of *Yang* (陽); second, the Square (*difang* 地方), descends as the polar force of *Yin* (陰) opposing, counter-balancing and complementing Yang; the Five Elements (*wuqi* 五氣): Metal, Wood, Water, Fire and Earth) work

14 Wang Daiyu (王岱輿), *A True Explanation of the Right Religion (Zhengjiao zhenquan 正教真詮)* (Yinchuan: Lingxia renmin chubanshe, 1987), 5.

15 Zhao, 46.

16 Liu Zhi (劉智), preface to *The Metaphysics of Islam (Tianfang xingli 天方性理)* (Beijing: Beijing Erudition Digital Technology Research Center), 2009.

in harmony and nurture all things and creatures.”¹⁷ These concepts originated from the ancient classics. In parallel to *wuji* and *taiji*, Liu Zhi discoursed on the nature of heaven and humanity in *Tianfang xingli* (天方性理), conceding that human nature submits to heaven and declaring that the universal principles of Confucius guide the daily practices of Confucianism.¹⁸ “Buddhism, considered to be a heresy from the West, is neither compatible with Liu’s discourses, nor is Taoism, heresy from China; Liu does not belong to the Yangist (楊朱) School, nor the Mohist (墨翟), the Buddhist, or the Taoist, which only discoursed on human nature, not even considering mathematics and technical calculations; Confucianism, second to none of all Chinese schools of thought, shares the most common characteristics with Islam.”¹⁹

Second, in terms of ethics, the fusion of Islam and Chinese traditional culture was far more significant than exchanges of other ideas and thought. Longing for happiness, peace of mind, wealth and longevity are universal aspects of humankind. A mixed use of pictorial images of bats, deer, cranes, pines, peaches, bamboo, lotus, and other plants and animals symbolizes this human longing, and its affective content represents an ancient Chinese custom that appeals to both Chinese and Muslims. The second Chinese character of bat (*fu* 蝠), is homonymous with, and is used in Chinese folk culture to represent the word (*fu* 福), meaning fortune and wealth. Likewise, the Chinese character for deer (*lu* 鹿) utilizes the same phoneme as prosperity (*lu* 祿); cranes and pines represent longevity, and so on. Drawings of bats grabbing peach branches depicted on mosque walls metaphorically connote fortune and longevity brought together; and the ancient word for coinage was similar to that of fountains (*quan* 泉) or spas. Taken together, these terms express a longing for longevity, an age-old concept in Taoist thought. The syncretism of Taoism and Confucianism takes a step further in fusing with Buddhist thought as a tripartite embodiment that influences the faiths and beliefs of Chinese people. Muslims are no exception in agreeing to a life course of ethics based upon this syncretism. Besides, Wang Daiyu paralleled “three cardinal relations and five virtues, and the three lights of heaven and earth in Confucianism” (*san gang wu chang, tiandi san guang* 三綱五常, 天地三光)²⁰ with the five

17 Wang, 23.

18 Liu Zhi (劉智), preface to *Tianfang xingli* (天方性理) (Beijing: Beijing Erudition Digital Technology Research Center, 2009).

19 Ibid.

20 Wang, 89.

pillars of Islam; Liu Zhi renamed the five bonds (*wu lun* 五倫)²¹ as the “five tenets (*wu dian* 五典).”²² These *Han Kitab* (Islamic texts with Islamic ideas written in Chinese by Chinese Muslims interpreted in the context of Confucian culture and language, 以儒詮回) were an effective means of syncretizing Islam with traditional Chinese culture. In addition to the mass appeal of the woodcarvings and paintings in the mosque imitating Chinese folk culture, the *Han Kitab*, written and interpreted in Confucian terms, enticed Chinese literati to study Islam and even accept it as the true religion.

4

In sum, Islamic localization and nationalization are not equivalent to any alterations in Islamic canon, basic beliefs, religious work, rituals and prohibitions, or ethical norms. The text in the Quran has never been changed; its interpretations, however, were altered according to the time and place in which different interpreters were situated and therefore varied with respect to events, locations, peoples involved and circumstantial factors, thus contributing to Islamic localization and nationalization. The Quran and other canonical texts have laid down religious normativity that shaped the faith and beliefs of Muslims, and, being adopted, they dispersed and developed Islam in China with the help of facilitating factors of the host nation.

In history, Buddhism's extensive spread occurred several centuries before the dispersion of Islam in China. One crucial factor was the formation of different denominations that adapted to the cultural diversity of Chinese ethnicities; Buddhism formed a Tibetan branch when it entered into Tibet; then Tibetan Buddhism later reached Mongolia. After the Islamic dispersion in China, Hindus, Zoroastrians, Jews, Manicheans, and Nestorian Christians were allowed to preach their religious doctrines by, and in support of, feudal and regional rulers who sponsored the building of temples, and support of clerics, some with monks reciting mantras and burning incense. Hinduism, and its antecedent Vedism, did not become popular because of its Brahmanic origins and reliance on the caste system, a system that was not present in China; Judaism, in contrast with Hinduism, emphasized the “chosen people” of God at the exclusion of other races except the Jews. This racial superiority embodied

21 The relationships between 1) the ruler and his subjects; 2) fathers and sons; 3) husbands and wives; 4) brothers; and 5) friends.

22 Liu Zhi, *The Rites of Islam* (*Tianfang dianli* 天方典禮) (Tianjin: Tianjin guji chubanshe, 1988).

in Judaist beliefs created obstacles in its dissemination to the different regions with non-Jewish inhabitants. Emperor Wuzong of Tang (唐武宗) (841–846 AD) decreed the destruction of all Buddhist temples, and later extended the demolition to include the religious buildings of Zoroastrianism, Manichaeism, and Nestorian Christianity. Afterwards, these religions either declined gradually or were assimilated into Chinese folk cultures as a result of losing their distinctive character. Nonetheless, Islam continued to develop in China because it had completed its localization and nationalization; namely, the determinants that made a foreign religion take root, disseminate and develop in China.

In fact, Islamic localization paired with nationalization is by nature coterminous with “Sinicization,” or nationalization. In an academic conference held in the early 1980s, Feng Zenglie clearly stated the thesis of “Sinicization” of Islam, but not all the conference participants reached a consensus on the theme. This thesis is mentioned here because it laid the foundation for understanding the overlapping issues between localization and nationalization and the dispersion of a foreign religion.

Leaving aside the issues of “Sinicization” to be discussed in this volume, today’s “Chinese Islam” which is localized and nationalized, obviously originated from the Arabian Peninsula. Islam is a world religion having its own historical “origins” (*yuan* 源), compared to those of Buddhism and Christianity. Only at the level of a man-made religion do people begin to completely understand “Chinese Islam” and distinguish it from national religion and primitive religion. But we never stop at this level and also investigate the different branches (*liu* 流) of a religion’s origin, compare them and know their differences, or know Chinese Islam as distinct from the Islam of other nations. Such comparisons are of vital importance. Knowledge limited to such branches without any reference to the historical and ethnic origins of a world religion is like a person seeing a bush instead of the whole jungle; knowledge confined to the historical and ethnic origins, similarly, is only nebulous without concrete historical and national references. In other words, well-rounded knowledge of a world religion reveals the interconnectedness of the empirical observations that are the foundation of theoretical constructs and the advancement of scientific knowledge.

As Lenin said, “Human thought then, by its nature, is capable of giving, and does give, absolute truth, which is a compounded sum-total of relative truths. Each step in the development of science adds new grains to the sum of absolute truth, but the limits of the truth of each scientific proposition are relative, now expanding, now shrinking with the growth of knowledge.” Chinese Islam, as a branch of the Islamic religion, has distinguishable characteristics compared with those of other nations and regions. Studying and discussing

Islamic localization and nationalization does not merely show the differences of Chinese Muslims in their daily lives as compared to their counterparts in other countries, but also reveals their very differences as being constituent of their resilient support of patriotism, China's unification, the strengthening of multi-ethnic and multi-racial solidarity amongst ethnic groups in China, and last but not least, contributing to socialist development and modernization.

Architectural Styles of Mosques in China: Analysis and Comments

Feng Jinyuan

Abstract

This chapter discusses two different types of mosque architecture. The first type is distinctively Chinese: a timber structure with ornaments and pavilions. The second type maintains an Arabic style of building form and structure. Such a style is found in early mosques built in China, and contemporary mosques located in Uyghur Autonomous Region, Xinjiang. These mosques no doubt signify a cultural exchange resulting in a distinctive character that is neither purely Islamic nor Chinese in style.

Keywords

Chinese mosques – architectural styles – appreciation

Fascinating and multifaceted in architectural and artistic styles, there are over twenty thousand mosques in China. In the last decade, Islamic Studies has become much more developed in China and a great deal of research on Chinese mosques has emerged. Special attention is paid to Chinese mosque architecture in the book *Islamic Architecture in China (Zhongguo yishilianjiao jianzhu 中國伊斯蘭教建築)* by Prof. Liu Zhiping, one of the pioneer researchers on Islamic architecture. From these studies, we are able to better understand the history, social functions and architectural styles of Chinese mosques, as well as how varied, regional developments of Chinese Muslims have taken place in relation to their economic, cultural and intellectual settings. In recent years, the author of this paper has surveyed different mosques that possess distinctive architectural features. The author, although not so imprudent as to

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claim any major contributions, publishes preliminary results of his survey that may help to shape further research on mosque studies in China.

Mosques in China can be categorized into two types of architectural styles. The first type features timber structures, ornaments, and pavilions, all of which were borrowed from Chinese traditional architecture. The other type, in contrast to Chinese styles, maintains Arab building forms and structures. A mosque built in China is evidentially a product of historical and cultural exchanges between Chinese and Arabs.

1 Mosques and Chinese Architecture

Chinese style mosques were largely built in the Yuan dynasty and renovated in the Ming and Qing dynasties. Mosques built in the Ming dynasty demonstrated their Chinese-ness in their building plans, building type, and pavilion design. The Chinese characteristics were later also exhibited in mosques built in the Qing dynasty.

Chinese mosque architecture has the following characteristics:

First, the basic plan: Almost all mosques in China are arranged in quadrangles (*si he yuan* 四合院)—the basic building blocks of Chinese architecture arranged alongside a central axis in an orderly symmetry. Each block is assigned with different functional and artistic requirements, with layers of structures so as to link the compound, exhibiting a coherent spatial order and artistic style.

The Xi'an Mosque in Huajue Lane is an archetypal Chinese mosque. From a bird's eye view, we see a rectangular plan on an East-West axis, 253.68 meters long and 47.56 meters wide, covering a total area of 11,684.54 square meters. The space is sub-divided into a four-quadrant layout with halls, chambers, and gateways tangential to the central axis. The screen wall erected at the east block marks the East-West axis and the entrance. There is a five-partition chamber in the second section, a stone gateway (*paifang* 牌坊) and a Hall for Study by Order of the Emperor in the third; At the fourth is the Examining the Heart Tower, the minaret, and three linked gates. Finally, there is the Phoenix Hall, the Moon Platform and the main prayer hall: these are all arranged in an orderly fashion throughout the axis. Inscription towers, small halls, and chambers are symmetrically arranged alongside the central axis and partitioned with cloisters and courtyards separating these buildings. The appearance of the building emphasizes harmony and holism, as if one were scanning a very long scroll of a Song painting.

This Chinese architectural style is also found in the Beijing Dongsì Mosque and the Niujie [Ox Street] Mosque; the Dali Laonanmen [Old South Gate] Mosque in Yunnan; the northern Mosque in Qinyang, Henan; the Chengzhou Mosque; the mosque in Shao County in Anhui, and mosques in Chinan and Chining, Shandong. The squared positioning of mosque buildings on the various sites provides an orderly setting, thus conveying a sense of unfathomable awe to both congregants and tourists alike, as they stroll through the gates and corridors. These mosques reflect the grandeur and loftiness of Chinese architecture.

Second, Chinese mosque constructions and building structures are characterized by the main entrances, minarets, and congregation halls. The arched main entrances which quite often featured in Arabic architecture were replaced by timber structures like those found in Chinese temple gates since the Ming Dynasty.

The aforementioned Xian Mosque in Huajue Lane imitates the main entrance of the Confucius Temple in Shandong. This was achieved by erecting a pair of gate towers at the corners of the East-facing entrance with Yingshan-styled (*ying shan shi* 硬山式) flush-gabled roofs on which unglazed plain tiles have been laid. Stone engraving on the top of the North Gate displays the Chinese characters “清真大寺” (Great Mosque) without other ornamentation.

The mosque in Botou City, Hebei Province, has two stepping-stones for riders to mount horses and a flat stand placed at the front of the main entrances; there are two wedged entrances with fan-surfaced engravings at the left and right sides of inner walls. The door knockers, to which copper rings are affixed at the wedged entrances, are painted in vermilion. The rooftop was completed in Yanshan style, finished in mass-produced tiles and ornamented with animal figures, resembling the gate rooftop on the Meridian Gate (*wumen* 午門) in the Forbidden City in Beijing.

The Dongsì Mosque in Beijing features a three-brick width firewall and two doors positioned on the left and right sides for daily use; it is planted with four pagoda trees—a standard setting of Chinese temples.

The Jining Mosque in Shandong, was constructed with large tree trunks, all rough and plain; a hipped rooftop in Xieshan Style (*xie shan shi* 歇山式)—a gorgeous design with green glazed tiles and yellow glazed shields laid on the roof; the “hips” are ornamented with running dragons giving a glittering and gorgeous appearance. Wooden fences and doors face the front; stone engravings of the sun and moon are found at the two sides of the inner rooftops covering a chamber at the back. This was the so-called “Sun and Moon Chamber” built in Emperor Kangxi’s reign.

The fronts of mosques located in Gansu and Yixi consist of three to five partitions with simple structures, and three storied towers built over the main entrances. A three-gated archway or *paifang* (牌坊) was built at the front of these entrances with supporting columns outside the fenestrations (*qian yanzhu* 前檐柱), wedged doors, and bracket sets (fixtures of roof supports and gables). These designs, which are not found in Arab regions, were not only emblematic of these mosques, but also functioned as minarets in mosques, calling people to prayer.

Minarets for mosques built in Arab style are rarely found in China. Chinese-style towers are instead found in the Xian Huaguo Mosque, the Henan Zhengzhou Mosque, the Shandong Chining Qingzhen Xi Mosque, the Yuannan Weishan Huihuiduan Mosque, the Sichuan Guliuji Mosque, the Gansu Tianshu Houzhijie Mosque, and the Lingxia Laowang and the Doumu Mosque. Large and lofty wooden structures were a feature of these mosques. Made with solid beams, purlins, and brackets, the austere design provides a contrast to the surrounding buildings in the varied and textured scenery.

Trunks dovetailed in the frameworks of rooftops were used in the construction of main prayer and subordinate halls in most Chinese mosques. A main prayer hall with its *mihrab* has a row of domes and columns in an arcade. Each part of the building is in a different hipped roof design with the main hall interlaced with different patterns of rectangles, crosses, etc. In Chinese architecture, *mihrab* were not constructed like in Arab regions, where bricks were used to make a semi-dome chamber indicating the *qibla*. Here, the extensive use of wood, for instance, in single eaves, double eaves, triple eaves, and crossed and pavilion roofs are found in various forms and combinations in Chinese architecture.

The main prayer hall of the Qining Mosque in Shandong, with its extravagant ornaments, is one of the biggest halls in China, and second only after the Perpetual Peace Hall at the Forbidden City in Beijing. The three halls with curving roofs (*juan peng* 卷棚) are at the front in the classical setting of four vaulted halls with walls on three sides and completely open on the fourth applying the standards of mosque construction. The front hall was constructed in 1654 AD, with a hipped roof built with a single-eaved, five-hip rooftop (*wu dian shi* 廡殿式) in five bays and with eleven sets of purlins. The middle hall was built in 1681 AD with bracket sets, double-eaved Xieshan styled rooftop in seven bays and eleven sets of purlins, which shows a higher building standard than that of the front hall. The back hall was built during the reign of Emperor Qianlong, with gables of five bays and was enclosed by galleries at the three sides, in the standard of Xieshan style double-eave roofs. These halls were built on a slope, and the eaves of the back hall are higher than those of the middle hall with a

“geared timber structure” (*gou lian da* 勾連搭) connected between the roofs of these buildings, thus making staggered contours typical of Chinese architecture. Such structural settings of mosque buildings were frequently used from the Ming dynasty onwards, and became a popular style of Chinese mosques. The flexible employment of such a “geared timber structure” was used to connect the eaves of buildings with gutters on two or more contours of a building on a hillside to allow rainfall to be shed, thus allowing expansion of buildings as more Muslim congregants used the halls, probably making them less crowded. Due to this reason, long rectangular rooms are the dominant feature of prayer halls, thereby allowing greater flexibility to expand the inner space.

The “geared timber structure” was unique to Chinese Islamic architecture, and it is not found in any other type of ancient Chinese building. As Islam forbids any idol worship and instructs Muslims to prostrate themselves facing the Kaaba, in Mecca, the prayer halls, following the Islamic rule, were designed with level and spacious interiors. Taking the Huajue Mosque in Xi'an as an example, the interior of the prayer hall is seven bays wide and 32.95 meters wide; it is nine bays (one bay is the distance between two columns on the exterior) deep and 38.53 meters deep in the interior. In Chinese architecture, the area of the platform is proportional to the height of the roof from the platform. If the height of the Huajue Mosque was increased by eight meters following Chinese rules of construction, the hall construction would be in discordance with the heights of surrounding buildings and more columns would need to be erected to support the interior structure. The “geared timber structure” resolved this problem of stylistic discordance (and offered durable construction as well) by making woodwork and frames and partitioning the hall into the front and the posterior parts in support of two, not one, Xieshan-style gabled rooftops. Three rooftops are then connected to the rooftop of the *mihrab*. Needless to say, the “geared structures” link the rooftops horizontally or diagonally, thus making the sizes of rooftops more flexible and the style less monolithic. Muslim masters of carpentry and masonry practiced these unique construction techniques which produced a distinctive kind of historical Chinese architecture.

The geared structure, timber frames, gabled and hipped rooftops, and bracket sets are the distinctive characteristics of Chinese architecture as distinguished from Arab-style mosques. The Laonanmen Mosque of Dali, Yunnan, is a typical example. Its cloisters, bracket sets, and bracket bottoms are inwardly curved, a style originating from typical architecture of the Ming Dynasty. The rooftop of the front in the prayer hall is much lower than the posterior with light beaming through clerestory windows, creating a lofty space

inside with a steep roof pitch and curvatures that give a sense of grandeur. Columns are orderly and vertically aligned and there is almost no elevation to the platform where these columns stand. All the wall surfaces are more or less in straight lines. Purlins on Shao and Qin bays are supported on thick beams, thus making high curvatures of rooftops and sharp gables at more than 5.3 meters high. Rooftops and roof boards are laid with plain curved tiles; roof hips are decorated with glazed tiles and gables built with glazed bricks arranged in flower patterns. All in all, obviously, these characteristics embody the nationalized architecture of Chinese Islam.

Third, some mosques feature a mixed-style of Chinese and Arab ornamentation. The rich and fascinating textures of such styles are integral to Chinese mosque architecture. Most Islamic ornamentation was applied to mosques alongside with applications of the Chinese ornamentation including the color and highlighting emphasizing the Islamic content and making the full use of Chinese ornamentation techniques to emphasize its religious character.

Colorfully painted artwork is found in many famous Chinese mosques, for instance, the Xian Huajue Mosque, the Shanxi Taiyuan Old Mosque, the Shandong Chining Great Mosque, the Beijing Dongsì Mosque, the Liujie Mosque, the Tongxian Mosque, etc. Paintings on the *mihrab* consist of innumerable pieces of art that elegantly represent sacred space. In general, mosques located on the North Chinese Plain are predominately painted in grassy green; whereas mosques located in southwest China display a gradient of five colors; mosques in northwest China have paintings with backgrounds of blue and green and feature gilded dots. Such painting styles, no doubt, originated from Chinese traditional art. The one thing they have in common is they do not use literal representation of images and animals, but instead contain geometrical drawings, flowers and Arabic script as basic elements of ornamentation.

The main hall of the Xian Huajue Mosque is typical of painted artwork found in mosques. The ceilings are decorated with caissons [in East Asia a decorated panel sunk into the centre of a ceiling] patterned with red flowers on a green background with gilded dots. Around six hundred paintings were completed on the ceilings with Arabic script on the dome signifying their unique religious meanings. The *mihrab* gives an extravagant atmosphere to viewers with two columns gilded with dots and a background in red, bearing Arabic calligraphy; numerous paintings were executed on the small beams, door frames and columns like a veil flying in the front of the *mihrab* enclosed by layers of wood structures in Arabic script. Apart from the typical Arabic ornamentations, Chinese patterns like lotuses and chrysanthemums were added to the background of Arabic calligraphy, thus favoring the whole piece of wall art with smooth lines that constitute vivid tapestry-like layers. The distinctive

design of the hall achieves harmony through color and the tapestries in the façades; the red and gilded flowers give the whole hall a shining effect of glittering gold.

In contrast, many other Chinese mosques were designed in an austere style that signifies stylistic mosque architecture. Examples of this style are the Hongshuiquan Mosque in Qinghai, the Shizuishan Mosque in Ningxia and other mosques in Linxia and Lintan Counties in Gansu. The style described here features simple-structured timber and masonry. A variant of this style is also found in the mosque halls in Anqing Mosque, Anhui, wherein not only woodcarvings were employed, but also pairs of couplets in Arabic script to decorate the gilded columns against a ground of shining gold, thus giving the hall a noble and reverential appearance.

The hall of the Hongshuiquan Mosque in Qinghai was built with flushed, wedged and glazed walls at the two sides of a *riwaq* [porch], all of which made the hall unique among Chinese halls. Engraved flowers decorate the bricks, and the whole glazed wall was embellished with hexagonal blossoms. In reflected sunlight, the curvature of flower petals presents a soft and pleasant visual rhythm that delights tourists. These green and glazed flowered bricks demonstrate the continued high-quality of Chinese Muslim masonry. Woodcarvings and ornaments in the mosque, including wood-made hexagonal lattices over windows panes and engravings on the main doors, likewise display master craftsmanship. The inner walls of the *mihrab* were made of wood and designed in two different styles. The upper part was constructed in the style of celestial courts with fences, fenestration doors (*ge men* 格門), bracket sets and caissons; the lower part was designed and constructed with folded screens with ornamental fretwork showing plants and landscapes with the character for longevity (*shou* 壽), surrounding the edges of these screens. The *minbar* is embellished with Arabesque patterns; the semi-domed *mihrab* is laced with patterns of grass and is full of fretwork in patterns of grass and flowers. Being embedded in a large wooden wall, the flatly polished paint highlights the delicate fretwork on the *mihrab*. The whole artwork is austere, with its yellowish-brown background in contrast to the master craft at the inner surface of the *mihrab*, an invaluable piece indeed.

Moreover, Chinese masonry was also at a comparable level of craftsmanship with that of woodwork as described above. Stone engravings of drum props, columns of creeping dragons, petaled column bases and ornaments at the tops of columns are uniquely identified in the Chining Mosque, in Shandong. Lively fretwork, like two dragons playing with a large pearl, and mythical beasts such as *qilin* are eye-catching masterpieces; wedge walls are ornamented with glazed, hexagonal bricks of high quality. Special attention has been paid to

the “Sun and Moon” chamber built in 1700 AD, located between the wooden fence door and three bays at the main entrance with a very solemn appearance. Calligraphy of two Chinese characters “敦化” (*dunhua*) was engraved on the main beam of the middle door. Other figures like lions, goats, *qilin*, and patterns of clouds and ornamental plants, as well as landscapes, are also found on the main beam; patterns of grass were crafted on other beams. At the rooftop of the entrance high relief carvings of a treasure vase and clouds that prop a red sun and a crescent are spotted, therefore suggesting cosmological reverence: the dynamics give rise to human contemplation within the ambience of stillness; and this stillness represents the cosmological stillness that has been turned into all sorts of motions. The whole stone chamber was built in white granite, complementing the green and glazed wedged walls.

Usually, animal figures and images are not used in the ornamentation of mosques and other Islamic buildings. Tipped leaves and shoots of plants replace such beastly figures in traditional Chinese architecture for *zhengji* (正脊 roof hips) and *dawen* (大吻 roof tiles). Such replacement was not exclusive to ornaments; it also included paintings, woodwork and stone engravings, thereby enriching the substance of historical architecture in China. A few examples that are forbidden in Islamic architecture but perceived as bringing fortune in the eyes of Chinese, such as lions in front of the entrance of Dongsi mosque in Beijing, and other ornaments such as a running dragon back, dragons on pillars, *qilin* and lambs portrayed in stone, two dragons playing with a pearl and other *qilin* on the wall, as well as a tortoise and snake embedded in the stone veneer in the Eastern mosque in Jining, decorate the mosque architecture. Even some mosques are named after mythical figures (Phoenix mosque, Crane mosque, Lion mosque and *Qilin* mosque).

Fourth, Chinese gardens and corridors are frequently placed within the mosque complex and such use shows the practical daily lives of Muslims. Within the mosques, Muslims practiced horticulture, burned incense, erected their stone inscriptions, dug fishponds and laid stone pathways and bridges. The adoption of Chinese gardens in mosque architecture, however, was more functional than ornamental: the refreshing environment of gardens gives a temporal relief for worshippers.

The garden design of the Xian Huajue Mosque is typical of Chinese mosques. Phoenix Pavilions were erected in the center of the north-south interiors. The main pavilion is hexagonal and the two smaller pavilions adjacent to it have triangular rooftops. The whole setting is like a phoenix spreading its wings, fully fledged, thus contrasting with the clustering of halls on the hillside. Paths with stone fences, around ten meters long, delineate a heart-shaped fishpond

about two meters deep; rocks were strategically placed on the banks of the pond creating a traditional Chinese landscape scene and included an artificial stream flowing down fabricated ridges of stonework. The north peak of the stone work is called “waving to the clouds” (*zhao yun* 招雲); the south is “waiting for the moon” (*yao yue* 邀月). The stream then passes under a bridge, thus creating a tranquil environment like the essence of a traditional Chinese painting.

Fifth, while the construction of Chinese mosques strictly followed the basic architectural characteristics set out by Islamic doctrines, as described above, mosque architecture in China adopted many Chinese elements as well. Obviously, the construction of a mosque could not, and cannot, deviate from the religious functions of Islam. The basic requirements constitute a prayer hall, a minaret, a room for ablutions (water houses 水房), and a *mihrab* with a *qibla* on the northwest side.

As Islam requires Muslims to face and prostrate to the Ka’ba in the west, the prayer hall is constructed with the entrance to the east and the hall facing the west. For the same reason, the *mihrab* is also constructed facing the same direction. However, deviations have been found in some architectural examples. For instance, at the Wuchang Mosque in Wubei, the door of the *mihrab* faces northeast, but architects used a hexagonal plan to set the direction of prostrations to face west, with the design of a double-eaved hexagonal hipped rooftop, so that the *qibla* would be located on the western side. The hexagonal space is therefore a masterpiece made by a creative spirit under some technical and geological constraint, all while not breaching the basic requirements of mosque construction.

Because idol worship is forbidden in Islam, the prayer hall of Chinese mosques, no matter how austere in both engravings and wall paintings, mainly use Quranic calligraphy to enhance beauty.

By and large, Islamic principles applied to mosque architecture help us to clearly distinguish mosques from the temples of other traditions in China. And this is the unique feature of religious architecture in China.

2 Mosques in Arabic Style

Chinese mosques utilizing Arabic architectural styles have been found clustered in the Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region. Their variations reflect a difference in the era of their construction, differentiating mosques that were built in the Tang and Song dynasties, from those built just recently.

2.1 *Features of Chinese Mosque Architectures in Early Period*

The Tang and Song Dynasties, when Islam entered and was diffused in China, marked the first implementation of Arabesque architecture in China. Examples found on the southeast coast have been successfully conserved. Several major characteristics are identified below:

First, masonry was frequently used in buildings. Examples of this are found at the pagoda in the Huaixin Mosque in Guangzhou, as well as the gate tower and the main hall at the Qingjing Mosque, Quanzhou. The masonry on the main entrance and the prayer halls was laid in bull header bonds (a method of masonry construction) and in special patterns from Persia that are rarely found in Chinese construction. The pagoda, functioning as a minaret, including two, paired, spiral staircases, was built with masonry and recorded in the history of Chinese building technologies.

Second, from reading the plan, we recognize that early mosques built in China were somewhat asymmetrical unlike Chinese architecture and were without a central axis. The minaret was erected at the right of the entrance. The entrance of the Qingjing Mosque opens at the east side of the South Gate with a walkway leading visitors into the prayer hall on the left. The clustered design of gates and halls, which was a standard of mosques, was rarely used in other Chinese architecture. The layout of Xianhe Mosque in Yangzhou, Jiangsu, is comprised of curled shapes, and its impluvium [subterranean drainage system] was not built in the classical, quadrangle, style.

Third, the Arabesque character could be easily identified on the exteriors of these mosques. The pagoda in Guangzhou, nicknamed in ancient times, 'foreign pagoda' (*fan tan* 蕃塔), displays an architectural style distinguished from those of Chinese pagodas. The pagoda is round with a base radius of 8.85 meters; its height, as measured by Guangzhou (Canton) School of Architecture, is 35.75 meters from the ground level, and it would be several meters higher if we also include its underground construction. The whole building is like a huge candlestick: the lower deck is like the cylindrical body of the candle and the upper deck like its wick. The structure is cylindrical, hollowed brickwork with a round clayed column at the center to support the whole structure. Two staircases in double-helix forms were constructed and there are 154 steps from the ground to the top. Windows perforate the cylindrical brick walls to provide light inside the staircases. White clay was smeared on both the outer and inner brick walls, giving a whitish and ascetic look to the exterior. A golden rooster at the top served as a wind vane; later the top of the rooster was stolen by a thief and the vane damaged by the wind, and eventually a gourd replaced it. The style of architecture of the exterior of the

Qingjing Mosque matches the Arabic styles in other mosques located in other parts of the world: rectangular shapes of front entrances, cusped doors, and exotic facades.

Fourth, in terms of the details of the doors, these mosques demonstrated Arabesque craftsmanship. Taking again the Qingjing Mosque, for example, its main entrance was designed as a very long, rectangular corridor. It was divided into a semi-open exterior with a closed interior. The first arched entrance from the exterior is 10 meters high and 3.8 meters deep with a sharp top. The doors are decorated in a gorgeous pattern of stones in emerald green. The ceiling behind these doors appears like the sky with eight ribs, representing the zenith. Carpentry work on the ceilings is in the shapes of caissons [decorated recessed panel in a flat ceiling, sometimes referred to as a 'spider web ceiling'], with the patterns of turtle shells supposedly symbolizing the omnipotence of the cosmos. The second arch is 6.7 meters high, smaller than that at the exterior and also decorated with emerald green on the doors. The layers of doors symbolize the oneness and the lofty nature of Allah. Holes were punched on the ground for fixing the locks of doors. The third and the fourth arches have heights of 4.3 and 4.06 meters respectively. With the third and the fourth doors, a dome-shaped oval top was made of bricks, or so-called dome-shaped tombs (*gongbei* 拱北), which were smeared in white clay with no other ornaments. Such multiple gate designs were refined with details of beehive patterns, thus making the whole work lofty and grand, which is a notable characteristic of Arab architecture.

Fifth, some Chinese mythological creatures and human figures, though banned by Islamic doctrine, were found in some places in Chinese mosques. As aforementioned, they include the golden-rooster wind vane erected on the top of the pagoda and the Chinese engraving patterns of grass and clouds applied on the building of the Qingjing Mosque. The use of emerald green stones for doors, not found in others places of China, is characteristic of regional architectures in Quanzhou. The multiple gate design and the domed roofs of the main entrance display the craft whose standards were laid down by *Treatise on Architectural Methods or State Building Standards* (*Yingzao Fashi* 营造法式); the caisson construction makes reference to other examples like the Mausoleum of Li Bian, Emperor of the Southern Tang.

By and large, most architectural styles of mosques built in the Tang and Song Dynasties employ masonry and most often Arabesque ornaments, figurations, and detailed patterns. Though dominating, the mainstream Arabesque styles in early buildings of Chinese mosques never excluded crossovers with Chinese construction techniques and ornamental styles, and in some ways mosque constructions adopting such techniques and styles laid a foundation

for Islamic architecture in China. By the Yuan Dynasty, mosque construction even attempted more breakthroughs than before by adopting techniques of wooden-framed structures, whose standards had been laid down by *Treatise on Architectural Methods or State Building Standards* while keeping with the original brickwork in *mihrab* construction. The melding of building techniques, such as Phoenix Mosque in Hangzhou and Jemaah Mosque in Ding County, display new and innovative features like beamless structures and stone engravings with Islamic features, and they have ultimately enriched Chinese architectural history as well as contributed to the cultural exchanges between China and the Arab world.

2.2 *Arabic Style and Contemporary Architecture*

After 1949, and particularly after 1978 (Third Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee affirming the leadership of Deng Xiaoping), the construction of mosques has mushroomed in China. Many of these constructions have borrowed styles from ancient Arabesques. Buildings in this genre are the Nanguan Mosque in Yichuan, the mosque of Jinzhou City, and the Islamic Academy in Beijing. The major features of this genre can be described as follows.

First, from their exterior appearance, these contemporary-style mosques are not like wooden temple structures, but utilize building methods and techniques originating from Arab architecture, notably and namely a big green-painted dome at the top accompanied by four smaller domes at the corners of the hall, giving an awesome aura of seamless and limitless zenith and unifying other styles in the building. The big dome symbolizes Muhammad; the four smaller domes, the four schools of Islam represented by the four Caliphs. Despite the controversy that has arisen in this interpretation of the domes, the architecture is indisputably invaluable. While ancient mosques in China are not easily distinguishable from other Chinese ancestral halls, this architecture is without doubt identified as an Arabesque building.

Second, in terms of the overall planning, mosque construction discarded the Chinese tradition of axial quadrangles but adopted a centralized layout. Nanguan Mosque in Yinchuan is an example of this, and is an example of how a building can be divided into an upper and lower part. A crescent-shaped lamp was hung just under the top of the dome at a height of 22 meters thus emphasizing the large space. A small prayer hall was built at the lower part, together with a room for the *ahong* (阿訇 meaning imam, from Persian, *ākhūnd*), and meeting rooms, all of which were linked with corridors. Following the spiral staircase up, one can find the main prayer hall, the Moon Hall, which, from South to North, was laid with water-polished tiles at the square edges of the

main hall to make it appear more spacious. Upon the tiles, dual circular columns made of white granite were set in a *riwaq* (a colonnaded space built as a gallery, verandah or loggia and often referring to a working space for religious students) between the main hall and the platform thus creating a buffering space where congregants can take off their shoes and other footwear before praying and prostrating themselves. The dimensions of the main hall in the square is 21×21 meters, and differs from the rectangular space most often associated with mosques which are of narrow and deep design; four columns on which green porcelain tiles were laid stand at the center supporting the dome with a radius of 9.5 meters. A cylindrical drum prop was placed within the four green columns. Twenty-four windows were set in the domes, in addition to six windows to the right and the left to ensure that enough sunlight passed through the window openings. Obviously, the emphasis on verticality in such building construction is typical of Arab architecture.

Third, the architectural emphasis on simplicity is reflected in a few paintings and engravings. Ten adjacent sets of magnolia-shaped lamps are fixed on the North and South walls in the mosque of Jinzhou City in Liaoning, in addition to eight chandeliers and four sets of fluorescent lamps on the roof. The floor of the hall is decorated purple-red with a milky color in the background and covered with aluminum-plated sunflower patterns; these patterns alternate with red and white stripes. Four white columns support the roof and are decorated with gilded Arabic script. Moreover, there are no other engravings found in the hall, giving it an ascetic and solemn aura. Nanguan Mosque has more or less the same architectural features as the mosque in Jinzhou City, plus a bit more Arabesque flavor, such as cusped windows facing North and South, complementing the dome and the *riwaq* on the East. The central parts of acute arches have been carved with quotes from the Qur'an in Arabic, and no other ornaments are found. The atmosphere of the hall is refreshingly simple and modest.

Furthermore, when choosing colors, the tones were deliberately refined. Complementing the base, the lower part of Nanguan Mosque has been painted in a grey tone giving a solid feeling; green water-polished tiles were applied to the upper walls of the main hall and stand in contrast to the coarse white granite used in the columns of the *riwaq*. Green, the principle color of most mosques, was painted on the surface of the 3 centimeters thick dome finished in steel scaffolding and using concrete methods. Finally, a crescent was erected on the top of the dome to complement the colorful roofline.

In recent years, dome shapes have become widely used in newly built or renovated mosques. Examples of such constructions or renovations are found in the Xiabo Mosque in Beijing, the Xinzhazhi Mosque in Yongning County in

Lingxia, The Upper Mosque of Lintan Old City in Gansu, Nanguan Mosque and the Great Qianyanhe Mosque in Linxia, the Mabo Mosque in Weiling County in Guizhou, and Anhan Mosque in Shaanxi. Mosques featuring Chinese architecture are notably numerous in the list of newly built or renovated mosques including the Botou Mosque and the Hongguanying Mosque in Xi County in Hebei, mosques in Jilin City, and the Chengxi Mosque in Jinjiang City. These mosques, after being renovated, restore the flair of Chinese court architecture with nostalgic simplicity and elegance, loftiness and grandeur. The contrast between Chinese and Arab styles in contemporary mosque architecture opens a window of opportunities in terms of experimental architectural design and building techniques.

2.3 Mosques in Xinjiang

There are five types of mosques found in Xinjiang, namely *'id gah* (艾提卡爾), *Jāmi* (加曼), *masjid* (小巷), *mazar* (麻扎), and *yetim* (耶提木).

'Id gah (*heytagar in Uyghur*) mosques are located in the cultural centers of cities. *'Id gah* is a combined word from the Arabic, “*'id*” (meaning “festivals”) and the Persian, “*gah*” (place or time). Named after these words, *'id gah* mosques are central to major Islamic festivals because of their large hall space, deliberate architectural structures, and detailed paintings. An *'id gah* mosque, where a large script hall was installed, is administered by a highly respected Imam and a handful of renowned Islamic scholars, who preach to the congregations. The *'id gah* mosque in Kashghar is an exemplar.

Jemaah (in Uyghur or *jāmi* in Arabic, meaning congregations) mosques are chiefly used for prayers by large congregations. The day of Jemaah, according to the Qur'an, are on Fridays, during which prayers and other related religious activities are conducted. Such mosques are large in scale and are located in Muslim settlements where they house teams of religious staff. The *jemaah* mosque in Yarkant County is an example of this.

Masjids were found scattered throughout the whole territory of Xinjiang, particularly in south Xinjiang. They are widely distributed in towns for Muslims' convenience of prayer and congregations. These *masjids* have their special names; for instance, with reference to the names of the places they are located and persons associated with it, for instance, a goldsmith or the builder. *Masjids* are often small in scale with a small number of regular staff.

Mazar were erected next to the Muslim-run mausoleums, shrines or tombs. Congregants are required to take part in a course of religious study before congregating at the *mazar*. The Great Mazar in Xinjiang houses tombs of famous imams, Islamic leaders and scholars. By and large the graveyards of these

mazars are for the family members of different denominations, many of whom worshipped there. *Mazar*, therefore, are constructed with lofty, grand halls like the world-celebrated Afaq Khoja Mazar in Kashgar with four mosques and a grand scripture hall, which is the holiest and largest *mazar* in China.

Yetim mosques, often standing alone at the roadside, are nicknamed “orphans” and were built at the edges of deserts. The architecture of *Yetim* mosques is the most primitive among the five types, with only simple clay walls without a roof, no religious staff and no facilities: they are provided for long-distance Muslim travellers who are still required to pray five times a day.

In contrast with other mosques, mosques located in Xinjiang have special features.

First, mosques are clustered around cities and towns that have a population of Muslims and various schools of Islam. In the late Qing dynasty, Kashgar, for instance, had 126 mosques and a population of around 40,000 Muslims. Shortly after 1949, or during the early years of the People's Republic of China, the number of mosques in Kashgar went up to over 12,000. Due to the civil unrest that lasted from 1966–1976 (the Cultural Revolution), only 152 mosques remained intact. After the Chinese Communist government's implementation of cultural policies for minorities, Kashgar now has a registered Muslim population of 173,000 and over 6,000 mosques. The growing number of mosques therefore corresponds to the growth in the Muslim population in the Uyghur Autonomous Regions.

Second, the overall planning of mosques built in Xinjiang is much simpler than those in other regions of China. A gate is typically set at the front of a Xinjiang mosque; the main hall is located just behind the gate. Supplementary buildings are few in number: the *ahong's* home is inside a small mosque, with *madrasah* only appearing in larger mosques. Only a few large mosques have rooms for ablutions, pavilions with stone inscriptions, restrooms, meeting rooms and libraries. Moreover, the buildings were built without following the rules of axial symmetry, and at times were even made asymmetrical. The *Id gah* mosque in Kashgar, for instance, is 120 meters wide, the doors of the main entrance are not in the central axis, siding north to the minaret. The wall connecting the entrance and the north minaret is plain; the other side, extending to a minaret on the south, has been decorated with cusped shapes that mark the façade of the mosque.

Third, the architecture of Xinjiang mosques differs a great deal from those found in other mosques in China in terms of the construction techniques for gates, *mihrab* and prayer halls. Xinjiang mosques, big or small, put their architectural emphasis on the ornaments of their façades. Arabic calligraphy is a

major and identifiable feature of the Arab influence, and the *mihrab* demonstrate the delicate brickworks of niches inside, thus giving an elegant interior. The gate tower is large, with a minaret built on each side and walls connected to the tower and the minarets, the latter, at the height of two or three stories for a normal size but maybe five to six stories for a Xinjiang mosque, were erected at the second gates or in the centers of gardens. Minarets are usually connected to gates with a façade of walls to save building material, and for visitors' and congregants' ease of recognition. A mixture of masonry and timber-frame techniques (brick structures at the bottom; timber frame at the top) was very often applied to minaret construction; minarets in Xinjiang are made with round bases, a border at the bottom and are slim at the top. They are also covered with brickwork on their cusped dome, and on top there stands a crescent. All these aspects demonstrate how Arab-influenced mosques are distinct from traditional Chinese architecture.

Mosques in Xinjiang were built with flat rooftops and porches covering the outer hall. Inside these halls are columns that support the roof. The *'id gah* and *mazar* prayer halls in Kashghar have 2,600 sq. m. flat rooftops supported by 158 columns. The inner areas of these halls are less than 2,600 square meters. The structures of these rooftops are much simpler than those of traditional Chinese architecture: eave alignment and roof boards—beams were installed in between columns, and lintels dovetail with the beams to support the alignments of eaves, or a roof board was laid on eaves, and on the top of the board there was a mixture of dry grass and mortar. Some mosques adopted dome- or cylinder-shaped rooftops; the extensions of chambers and halls in a group of mosque buildings thus make an aligned cluster (*bax tarka* in Uyghur) of domed and cylindered rooftops in the bird-eye's view. Such structures were designed to adapt to the desert environment: they are simple structures, making the best use of scarce building materials, flexibility of building structures and are not constrained by sophisticated timber frames found in Chinese architecture. The trade-off for such simple construction was that wood columns occupied much of the internal space and resulted in not enough daylight penetration inside the halls and chambers.

Fourth, the ornaments in Xinjiang mosques are identified with unique patterns of Uyghur art. These include woodcraft, brickwork, plaster relief and paintings. The major ornamental patterns are as follows: Shedd (謝德紋), Ishmaelite grain (伊斯力瑪紋), Padan woodgrain (巴旦木紋), pomegranate, blossoms, flowers, leaves, and so on.

Woodcarving: The carpentry applied to Xinjiang mosques is delicate and artistic. Fences, doors to courtyard gardens, and windows were latticed with flower

patterns, Arabic or geometrical shapes. Wooden windows are masterpieces of unnamed craftsmen who made these in round, rubric, square, and even hexagonal or octagonal shapes. Besides these columns and brackets, the eaves are intensively decorated with delicate woodwork patterns. The same techniques were also applied to the same eave structure inside the congregation hall, therefore making a vivid and enriched tapestry of colors. For distant observers, the columns inside the hall look more or less the same; but under close inspection, the bases are differentiated by unique patterns that astonish tourists.

Brickwork: Patterns of bricks used in Uyghur mosques are often brownish yellow and designated for special fittings. There are three types of pattern in general. The first type is tiling bricks in a regular pattern, thus making the whole building grand. This type of brickwork was usually applied to gables and staircases. The second type of brickwork consists of assembling different parts that create different patterns. These assemblages were applied to doorframes, minarets, terraces, walls and parts of platforms. The third type is making reliefs on the surface of bricks, which are arranged in an orderly pattern, according to the design on paper. These bricks yield similar effects to that of plaster, but such brickwork is more durable than plaster walls.

The largest and most magnificent brickwork for mosque construction is in the Sugong Pagoda, or Emin Minaret, in Turfan, built in 1777 AD. This masterpiece is 44 meters high, with a radius of 11 meters at the base, and 2.8 meters of the domed rooftop. The platform of the pagoda is adjacent to a highway, which is over 10 meters lower than the platform on the horizon. The pagoda appears like a skyscraper as one sees it on the highway. The outer walls are patterned in brickwork structure in the shape of an ice-cream swirl. Of course, this masterpiece demanded the highest level of craftsmanship that could not be imagined and realized by lesser masons.

Plaster reliefs: Flowers are the most common patterns in Xinjiang mosques. Wang Yande (王延德) of Northern Song (989–1006 AD) once wrote, “White gypsum tiles are laid on the surfaces of the rooms to diffuse heat, as the ground never experiences rain or snow fall that cools down the hot ground.” The statement is self-explanatory in terms of depicting the desert environment of Xinjiang. Floral patterns of plaster tiles are variegated in terms of shapes and assemblages. The *mihrab* of a mosque in Kashgar was fully decorated in plaster flowers, white in composition with either a red or blue background, thus giving a feeling of reverence and simplicity.

Colorful Paintings: Paintings are found in most Xinjiang mosques; Paintings on doors, *mihrab*, *riwaq*, caissons, beams and columns are colorfully decorated with the themes of plants, fruits, vases, landscapes and geometrical shapes. The use and combination of colors strike a balance between complementary and

contrasting effects in color theory signifying the artistic talent of the Uyghur craftsmen. For instance, hall columns were painted in brown, blue or green and the beams in white to give an austere outlook. Some beams were alternatively painted or left unpainted with their natural surfaces exposed with patterns then carved into the wood. These segments are alternatively painted and carved, and constitute a coherent pattern in terms of shapes, lines and colors. Contemporary mosques are painted with very contrasting colors of blue, white, red, and Arabesque green. The ceilings are decorated in a unified style of flowers, fruit, landscapes and the traditional swastika symbol (卐) which is not often found in Chinese mosques.

To sum up, ornamental Uyghur art originates from people's daily practices. Uyghur people often plant fruit and flowers in their patios, and these subjects are naturally transposed into the paintings in their mosques. Moreover, Uyghur people were historically influenced by Buddhism, Zoroastrianism, Manichaeism, and Nestorian Christianity and they took artistic elements from those religions as inspiration to create new forms of art in their paintings, such as ornamental plants and utensils. In other words, Uyghur ornamental art has become a trend revealing that that Uyghur people are fond of their lives and nature and also express their secular attitudes, albeit with their Islamic devotion.

This paper provides an introduction to two types of mosque architecture, namely, traditional Chinese and Arabesque. Whether a mosque is classified architecturally as either traditional Chinese or Arabesque, it is without doubt a product of cultural exchange between China and Arabs. Mosques are clearly distinguished, in terms of building forms and ornaments, from Buddhist and Taoist temples, ancestral halls and churches. They express the unique features of Chinese-style architecture and enrich both the cultural legacy of Chinese and world architecture. As such, these mosques are the grounds that epitomize the long-term relations between China and the Arab world.

Islamic Culture in Tibet

Zhou Chuanbin

Abstract

Islamic and Tibetan cultures first emerged ca. the 7th Century AD. By the 13th Century AD, Islam had spread into the whole area of Tibet. It was inevitable that both cultures confronted each other at times, while at other times they remained peaceful and interacted with each other. This chapter delves into history to consider this topic. Muslims who entered Tibet not only brought along with them their goods, but also their faith in Islam. As a result of the interaction between Islam and Tibet, Muslims came to be indigenized, while the cultural traits of Islam permeated Tibetan culture. In the following the author describes various aspects of Islamic culture in Tibet, namely investigating the ethnic name of Muslims in the Tibetan language, as well as material culture, technological culture, the Muslim community, education and intellectual culture.

Keywords

Islam – Tibet – Islamic Culture

Islamic and Tibetan cultures first emerged ca. the 7th Century AD. In the 13th Century AD, Islam extended its influences to the edges of the Qinghai Plateau. It was inevitable that both cultures confronted each other at times, while at other times they remained peaceful and interacted with each other. So what has taken place since the 13th Century? This chapter focuses upon investigating the consequences after these exchanges in the present-day Tibetan Autonomous Region.

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The spread of Islam in Tibet has relied mainly upon the immigration of Muslims. The first introduction of Islam in the region of *Dbus-gtsang*¹ (衛藏) was recorded as early as the period of the Fifth Dalai Lama.² Muslims at that time moved into Tibet from the Kashmiri region and Northwest China with the distinctive cultural origins of these two different places. The present-day mosque located at Balang Street, in Lhasa, features artifacts that the settlers of Kashmir left, whereas the great mosque in Hebalin, Chengguan District of Lhasa, serves attendants with ancestral origins in China.

The exchanges between Islam and Tibet resulted in a two-pronged effect. On the one hand, the Muslim immigrants became indigenized after generations of settlement, thereby creating a unique Islamic culture in its own right; on the other, Islamic culture, by all possible means, permeated Tibetan culture, thus enriching the latter in both content and form.

The following describes how Islam permeated Tibet.

1 Nomenclatures of Muslims in Tibet

In Tibet, Islam and Muslims are generally called *Kla-klovi-chos* (the barbarians or infidels), *Kha-che*, (Kashmiris), and *mgo-dkar* (the white heads). Later on, *Kachee* (or *Kha-che*, which literally means Kashmiri) became a general label for Muslims without regard to their origins.

According to previous studies, the earliest terms used to address Muslims in Tibetan language were *Kla-klovi-chos* and *Kha-che* in relation to the mythical kingdom of Shambhala as recorded in Tibetan history and literature. According to *Bsod-nams-grags-pa*, for instance, when the 10th descendent of Shambhala came to rule, there was a record of a small region in India called *Ma-Gta-Dha* with registries of *Kla-klovi-chos*,³ and there is a general agreement among the present-day scholars that *Kla-klovi-chos* refers to Islam; *Kla-klovi*

1 The transliterations from the Tibetan pronunciations are in brackets making reference to *Dunhuang Tibetan Historical Documents* (*Dunhuang ben Tubo lishi wenshu* 敦煌本吐蕃歷史文書), special thanks to the help of Dr. Chen Bo (陳波) of Department of History and Politics, University of Tibet. See: Wang Yao (王堯) and Chen Jian (陳踐), *Dunhuang Tibetan Historical Documents* (*Dunhuang ben tubo lishi wenhu* 敦煌本吐蕃歷史文書) (Beijing: Minzu chubanshe, 1992).

2 About the historical process of how Islam was introduced into Tibet refer to: Zhou Chuanbin (周傳斌) and Chen Bao (陳波). "Study of Islam Introducing into Tibet (*Yisilanjiao chuanru Xizang kao* 伊斯蘭教傳入西藏考)," *Qinhai Ethnic Research* (*Qinhai minzu yanjiu* 青海民族研究) 2 (2000): 101.

3 Pan-chen Bsod-nams grags-pa (班欽·索南查巴), *History of Tibet* (*Xin hong shi* 新紅史), trans. Huang Hao (黃顥) (Lhasa: Tibet remin chubanshe, 1984), 10.

means “barbarians, infidels.” A detailed description of *Kla-klovi-chos* invading Shambhala was written in *Grub mtha’ thams cad kyi khuns dan ’dod tshul ston pa legs bsad sal gyi me lon*:

When the 10th descendent of Shambhala came to rule, the leaders of Muslim heresy (*Kla-Klovis-Ton-Pa*), namely A-Ho-Gha, Byis-Pad-Bang-Po, Gosd-Kar-Can, Ma-Dhu-Ma-Ti, vJoms-Byed, together with other adherents, arrived at Ma-Ga (Mecca). The seventh of them, namely mNgar-lDan or sBrang-rTsevi-Blo-Gros, designed their calendar and preached Islam (*Kla-Klovi-Chos*). Then other infidels were converted into Muslims and demolished temples and monasteries. According to the estimation, this was 1,800 years previously.⁴

Here, the Chinese translator of *Grub mtha’ thams* (Liu Liqian) directly takes *Kla-Klovi-Chos* as a term for Islam.

The other Tibetan source of *Kla-klovi* makes reference to the Gu-ge Kingdom, which was built in the 10th Century with twenty-eight descendants, and was finally exterminated by the King of Ladakh in 1630 AD. Its capital, Rtsa-brang, is located at the present-day Zanskar in Kargil district, India. The earliest record of Muslims in Gu-ge dates back to the 11th Century AD, when the second son of the Guge king, Srong-nge, entered the monastery where he devoted his later life. He was renamed Lha-bla-ma-ye-shes-vod and got caught by Gar-log-gi-rgyal-po, King of Qara-Khanids, when searching for gold as a welcoming gift for Indian high priest Atisha (982–1054 AD) who was to visit Tibet.⁵ (According to the same source, *Kla-klovi* refers to the kingdoms of Khokan, Yarkant, and the Turkic Qara-Khanids in Kashgar (992–1212 AD).⁶) Gar-log-gi-rgyal-po kept Srong-nge hostage and asked Srong-nge’s father, the King of Guge, to give gold in an amount equal to Srong-nge’s weight or risk Srong-nge being converted to Islam. Srong-nge decisively refused and let his nephew sneak the gold and send it to Atisha. Srong-nge later became a martyr in the year 1036 AD.⁷ Following his martyrdom, the use of *Kla-klovi* became a derogatory and offensive term for Muslims.

4 Blo-bzan-chos-kyi-ni-ma (土觀·羅桑卻吉尼瑪), *Different sectarian rigins* (*Tuguan zongpai yuanliu* 土觀宗派源流), trans. Liu Liqian (劉立千) (Lhasa: Tibet remin chubanshe, 1984), 235.

5 Bsod-nams grags-pa, 39; Blo-bzan-chos-kyi-ni-ma, 47.

6 Bsod-nams grags-pa, 186.

7 Gang-ri-wa Qun-ying-duo-ji (岡日瓦·群英多吉), *Early History of A li Kuoersong* (*Xueyu xibu A Li Kuoersong zaoqishi* 雪域西部阿里廓爾松早期史) (Lhasa: Tibet remin chubanshe, 1996), 49–50.

The most frequent use of *Kha-che* nowadays is a transposition of vowels of Tibetan from the word for Kashmir, expressed in Tibetan as “*Kha-che*,”⁸ and used to refer to Islam after Kashmir was converted. According to *La-dwags rgyal rabs* (*History of Ladakh*), there appear the following vocabularies: “Ka-(shi)-mir-Kha-che,” “Ka-chul-Kha-che,” and “La-dwags-Kha-che.”⁹ Alternatively, the Kashag, the governing council of Tibet in the Qing and Republic of China eras, uses the words “La-dwags-Kha-che” as referring to Ladakh Muslims, and “Lha-sdod-Kha-che” as referring to Muslims with official residency in Lhasa.¹⁰ Previously, these Muslims had been mistaken as *Rgya* (Han people) in Lhasa and in the Aba district, Sichuan, or mistakenly called *Rgya-Kha-che*, or Han Muslims. The Hui Liu Manqing, born in Tibet, was called *Rgya-Kah-che* when she returned to Tibet again in 1929.¹¹ However, the word referring to Tibetan Hui, *Bod-Kha-che*, is of recent use.

In the chronicles of the Fifth Dalai Lama, Central Asian and Xinjiang Muslims were general called *mgo-dkar*. In 1681 AD, it was recorded that “Galdan Boshugtu Khan (1644–1697 AD) has conquered the vast areas of *mgo-dkar*, and ruled Yarkant as the political center with cities, towns and villages with more than 1,500 people, and a total population exceeding two million. Luosang Xirao in official representative of Boshugtu Khan declares the large piece of conquered land gifted to their ancestors.”¹² The present-day inhabitants of the Qamdo district also call Muslims *Mgo-dkar*; their graveyards are called *Mgo-dkar-Mchod-rten*. In Shangri-La (Xamgyi’nyilha) County, Sichuan, bordering Tibet, the people living there also called Muslims *Mgo-gkar* (with the second “g” replacing the original “d”). This term is used for Muslims who traditionally wear a white cap.

2 Material and Technological Cultures

The footsteps of Muslims left their marks everywhere, thus Islam also came to Tibet. Muslim cultures, in some ways, influenced Tibet at the levels of

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- 8 The word “Kha-che” referring to Muslim was a direct translation by The Fifth Dalai Lama.
 - 9 *History of Ladakh* (*Ladakh shi* 拉達克史) (Lhasa: Tibet renmin chubanshe, 1986), 60.
 - 10 *Gaxia Government Documents* (Gaxia zhenfu dangan 噶廈政府檔案), N.p.: n.p., 1947.
 - 11 Liu Manqing (劉曼卿), *Prose about Tibet* (*Kang Zang yaozheng* 康藏軼征) (Shanghai: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1933), 82.
 - 12 Danzhuangben (丹珠昂奔), *Chronicle of the genealogy of the Dalai Lama and Bainqen Erdini* (*Libei Dalai lama yu Penchen Lama nianpu* 曆輩達賴喇嘛與班禪額爾德尼年譜) (Beijing: Zhongyang minzu daxue chubanshe, 1998), 189.

material and technological culture, enriching its cultural content and increasing diversity.

2.1 Mosques

Mosques built in Tibet at various locations are evidence of the circulation of Islam in Tibet. Historically, a total of nine mosques built in Tibet constitute an inherited Islamic artistic style and material culture. Table 3.1 (below) provides detail about six of the nine mosques; additionally, more mosques and Tibetan Muslim settlements are identified in Qinghai, Gansu, Sichuan and Yunnan Provinces.

TABLE 3.1 *Mosques located historically in Tibet*¹³

Location	Name	Year that construction started	Present-day condition
Lhasa	Lhasa Mosque	Not known	Existent in 10th c. AD, now non-existent ^a
	Kha-che Gling-kha Mosque	Not earlier than 1678	Existent now
	Hebalin Great Mosque	1716	Existent now
	Bakhor Lane Little Mosque	Not later than 1900	Existent now
	Tzashen Mosque	Not earlier than 1733	Destroyed in 1761
Shigatse	Bang-jia Lin-ka Mosque	Circa 17th c. AD	Existent now
Qamdo	Qambo Mosque	1702	Existent now
Zedang	Zedang Mosque	Not known	Only recently built
Ali	Guge Mosque	Not known	Destroyed in 1626

- a According to the Persian *The Regions of the World* originally completed in 982 AD, there was a mosque (*masjid*) and a few Muslims in Lhasa, the earliest recorded. See: V. Minorsky. Hudud al-Alam, trans., *The Regions of the World* (London: Oxford Univeristy Press, 1970), 93, 258.

13 All locations of Muslim mosques and cemeteries, as tabulated above and below, refer to field research by Zhou Chuanbin and Chen Bo, "Study of Islam Introducing into Tibet (*Yishilanjiao chuanru Xizang kao* 伊斯蘭教傳入西藏考)," *Qinhai Ethnic Research* (*Qinghai minzu yanjiu* 青海民族研究) 2 (2001): 101.

The architecture of Tibetan mosques displays a mixture of Islamic, Chinese and Tibetan styles, found namely in the flat rooftops, stone walls, long and narrow trapezoidal window panes, four large and rectangular columns erected in the interior, distinct from the rounded ones found in Chinese architecture. In addition, there is a burner, similar to those used in Tibetan Buddhist temples, for burning pine needles at the front gate of Qambo Mosque (a practice often found among Hui women). Hebalin Great Mosque features the Chinese style gateways (*paifang*), but with glazed tiles unavailable in Tibet, curled iron plates in the shapes of tiles were used to cover the rooftops. Such imitation was a natural response of the builders, whose ancestors were emigrants from Han regions of China. In contrast, Bakhor Lane Little Mosque and Kha-che Gling-kha Mosque feature dome-shaped rooftops, which is typical of Arabic architecture that was brought into Tibet by early Muslims. In terms of the elevation plans, Tibetan mosques, as distinguished from mosques located in China that are organized in basic units of quadrangles, display an architectural emphasis on the effectiveness and practicality of utilizing space on slopes and rough terrain rather than symmetry and harmony as the architecture of quadrangles emphasizes. Tibetan mosques are built in plain colors of white and green, and use no animal figure or images as ornaments, such as are often found in Chinese architecture. The austerity of mosque architecture in Tibet hence gives a distinctive contrast with the kaleidoscopic coloration in the architecture of Tibetan Buddhist structures.

2.2 Cemeteries (mazar)

The Muslim cemeteries in Tibet are as old as its mosques. Tibetans, in their customs, perform the ritual of sky burial for a dead body; in contrast, Muslims buried the deceased in the earth. The particular cultural and environmental settings on the Qinghai-Tibetan Plateau attach particular meanings to the material culture of burials.

Very few forests are found in Tibet, but Muslims, using their knowledge of horticulture built up courtyards for their graves, these also being locations where they have social gatherings. For instance, Zhuafanjie (festival of eating rice with the hands) is held every three years in Hebalin Great Mosque, and all Muslims move to Gegeha Cemetery for an outdoor stay lasting for a few days. In contrast with Muslims in other regions of China, Tibetan Muslims paid prime attention to their lives in the cemeteries that enrich their cultural functions and content.

The monuments erected in these cemeteries are the cultural heritage of Muslims. Found in the Kha-che Gling-kha cemetery, the engraved inscription on the cover of a stone coffin with a rooftop shape dates back, at the earliest,

TABLE 3.2 *Muslim cemeteries in Tibet*

Location	Name of cemetery	Year that started construction	The present-day condition
Lhasa	Cemetery for Muslims ^a	Not known	Destroyed circa 17th Century. AD
	Kha-che Gling-kha	Not earlier than 1678	Existent now
	Gegeka	Circa 1716	Existent now
Shigatse	Shigatse	Circa 17th Century AD	Existent now
Qamdo	Zanhong Baba	Circa 1702	Existent now
Zedang	Zedangrave (ruins)	Not known	Existent now

- a The Jesuit missionary Ippolito Desideri wrote in the 18th Century AD, "They (Muslims) had a cemetery near Lhasa later being destroyed, and they chose elsewhere to rebuild it." See: Filippo De Filippi, ed., *An Account of Tibet: The Travels of Ippolito Desideri 1712–1727* (New Delhi: AES Reprint, 1995), 177–178.

to the year 1133 of the Hijra (1720 AD). The engravings in Urdu script mark the names and dates of death of the deceased. The exotic design of the stone coffin in Kha-che Gling-kha is akin to those found in the Quanzhou cemeteries.¹⁴

The earliest monument erected in Gegeha Cemetery was found in 1784 AD, and the individual buried in the graveyard is recorded in an inscription as "Master Shan named Jucai. Originally served in Wayaotao Mosque in Fengxiang County, Shaanxi."¹⁵ According to a survey of the cemetery, there are twenty-three monuments and, among those, sixteen were found to be intact and well preserved. These monuments are categorized into three types: most

- 14 Chen Dashen (陳達生), *Islamic inscriptions in Quanzhou (Quanzhou Yisilan jiao shike 泉州伊斯蘭教石刻)* (Yinchuan: Ningxia renmin chubanshe; Fuzhou: Fujian renmin chubanshe, 1984). The rooftop shaped coffin was covered either with a piece of stone board, or several pieces assembled together. Some coffin covers were made of fretwork. Such patterns of rooftops are divided into three to five layers, thicker at the bottom and thinner on the top, like the rooftops of pagodas, and so these tombs in such design are called pagoda coffins with detailed ornaments. Tomb covers in Kha-che Gling-kha Cemetery were designed in single formats, often engraved with whole pieces of stone boards. The covers are usually divided into three layers, and on the middle layer the name of the buried and the date of death are engraved in Urdu.
- 15 The author visited the tomb site in 1997 and found that the monument was stored at a house on site.

of them were designed in Chinese style with rectangular faces and rounded, ornamented heads, inscribed with *shahadah* (清真言 translated as “witness” or “testimony” in English, the *shahadah* is the profession of faith, the first of the five Pillars of Islam) in Arabic; the central part of the monument was engraved with the names and the titles of those buried with a couplet in Chinese characters. For example, a monument erected in 1857 shows, “In His (Emperor Xianfeng) Majestic Grace, Madam Huang, mother of Master Ma, was buried here” (皇清詔贈顯妣馬母黃氏老宜人之墓) with the heading “The Best City Forever” (萬古佳城)¹⁶ The other type of monument, Modian style, is four columned and often found in Turfan, and in the same way, the central part was inscribed with the *shahadah* in Arabic and the names and the titles of the buried in Chinese. The third type, albeit more varied in style, was inscribed with Arabic, Tibetan and Chinese.

2.3 Food and Drink

Agricultural products are in short supply locally, and many necessities are imported from neighboring regions such as India, Nepal and Kashmir. According to the *General Chronicles of Tibet* written in Chinese during the reign of Emperor Qianlong, “all food items and daily necessities rely solely on imports...like grains, garments, fruit, spices, ironware, [all are] purchased from the infidels.”¹⁷ Muslims undoubtedly played an important role in trade.

Muslims also brought dining customs with them in their trade with Tibetans, thus enriching culinary culture in Tibet. Certainly, banquets are a focal point at festivals in Lhasa and are regarded as being indispensable. According to a historical record in 1741, “The king holds banquets during festivals... fruit from Huihui, and the like, in one or two trays... and then the scarf-clad Hui people mix butter-tea with rice in a choice of white and yellow. They rinse the grains and steam them, and add granules of sugar, almond, dates, [or] slices of cakes with beef or mutton (*sha balep*). The assorted rice was distributed on individual trays and all attendants use their hands [rather than chopsticks] to pick up the assorted foodstuffs and put them into their mouths.”¹⁸ Here, the Huis came from Kashmir, and now rice eaten with the hands is one of the most popular foods in Tibet. Curry rice, fried dim sum and others are the favorites of Tibetans in Lhasa. Among these foods are *samkham papleg*, a sweet dough

16 Tibet Autonomous Region Administration Commission of Cultural Heritage, *Heritage of Lhasa* (*Lasa wenwu zhi* 拉薩文物志) (Shanxi: Shanxi Xianyang yinshuachang, 1985), 141–142.

17 *General history and early wars of Tibet* (*Xizang zhi Weizang tongzhi* 西藏志 • 衛藏通志) (Lhasa: Tibet renmin chubanshe, 1982), 330.

18 *Ibid.*, 31.

fried with yak butter or rapeseed oil and dubbed “one copper coin” because it is purchased at a price of one copper coin in Tibet, and now it is considered a necessary item for serving guests. Norsing Selchung, the name for an old brand of Halal food, is also a famous restaurant that was well known for stately banquets officially held by the Kashag (噶厦 the governing council of Tibet during the rule of the Qing dynasty and post-Qing period until the 1950s) and the Kuomintang Representative Office in Lhasa.

In Tibet, butchers are Muslims because Tibetans’ religious beliefs cause them to refrain from killing other living things. In the past, Muslims monopolized the livestock trade. Before 1959, the largest butcher site, Qimigang, was in the Muslim settlement of Hebailin, and Muslims at the east side of Barkhor Street also ran the livestock market. In the past, livestock trade was delegated to a handful of Muslim households, and nowadays, Tibetans purchase meat from Muslims because of its gourmet taste. There is a notable feature for these Muslim butchers: they use the horns of cattle instead of bricks and mortar to build their houses, creating an exotic feature in the Tibetan landscape.

Agriculture is also one of the major occupations for Muslims in Tibet. Many Chinese Muslims (mainly from Sichuan) moved to Tibet and brought along with them agricultural technology. They specialize in planting carrots, Tibetan cabbage, taro, asparagus lettuce, and snake melon, etc. What is more, they make pickles that have become popular and are now associated with the descendants of these Sichuan Muslims.

2.4 Craft Products

Muslim traders brought most craft products and daily consumables to Tibet. According to the *General Chronicles of Tibet*, “In the last Lunar Month of the 57th Year of Qianlong, Fukangan, the Great Minister of State, reported to the imperial court: Tibet and its trades with other foreigners . . . being reliant upon Nepal and Kashmir, does not trading with locals and Gurkhas. All supplies of foodstuff are provided only by foreigners. Had embargoes been imposed upon Tibet, it would be very inconvenient for its food supplies.¹⁹ In terms of items sold in bazaars, it was recorded that Muslims “sold jewelry, silk and satin, all imported from China proper. Some white-scarfed Muslims sold Tibetan wool fabric, Tibetan satin, Karachi fabrics and other textiles, all imported from Nepal and India. Some traders would sell rare items like ox gall and *Asafoetida*. And the item list for the tribute “to Dalai Lama and Miwang Polhanai (1689–1747 AD), and to the Panchen Lama . . . both have to be paid annually . . . these items include Tibetan incense, Karachi satin and other fabrics.”²⁰

19 Ibid., 330.

20 Ibid., 37.

Muslims from other parts of China also brought noodle-making techniques. Traditional Tibetan methods of making noodles with *tsampa* (roasted barley meal) were replaced with Muslim techniques to get rid of defects and produce much thinner noodles. One large Muslim workshop, called Zhuokangxi (卓康喜), was famous for its four-basin noodle-making machines.

Tibetan Muslims also ran tailor shops in Lhasa, specializing in tailor-made suits. Beginning in the 1920s, fashionable noblemen in Lhasa replaced their traditional dress with western suits. Tibetans queued at the front of tailors shops, thus making several Muslim tailors, like Iskar, famous.

Shanmu, a Muslim, was a legendary kite maker in the 1930s and 40s. His kites were so impressive that he received an award from the 13th Dalai Lama—an engraved chop. Also, in the 1930s, the summer palace, Norbulingka, was reputed to have employed a Muslim gardener who replicated the gardening of Kashmir in the Hebalin Great Mosque.

3 Muslim Communities

Muslims used to organize their communities around a mosque, and the communities stood as secondary cultural systems to the mosque. Both historical documents and surveys show their historical presence in terms of their independent organizations and institutions.

In the past, Lhasa Muslims were divided into two separate communities. Hebalin Great Mosque governed the Chinese Muslims who were descendants of Hui people and were treated as Han nationals. Prior to Hebalin, the affairs of these Chinese Muslims would be dealt with by *xue* (雪), an administrative unit under the Potala. When the 13th Dalai Lama came to power, their civic matters were then transferred to the Secretariat of Agriculture of the Kashag, which was associated with the livelihoods of Muslims in Tibet. The Great Mosque was under the General Affairs Committee of Muslims, whose members held three-year tenure and were publicly elected with the final approval of the Kashag. This organization was a quasi-governmental one. The Committee was comprised of eleven official members and the leader among them was called “the General Elder” with other two members as deputies administering the affairs, or *baozheng* (保正). The remaining eight members, in groups of two, shared the following responsibilities: treasury, finances, estates, and taxation.²¹

21 Each Muslim household butchers a cow and takes the ox tail to the Kashag tax-levy. See: Ci Duo (次多), “Muslims in Lhasa (*Lasa Huimin* 拉薩回民),” *Tibet’s Literature* (*Xizang weixue* 西藏文學) 1 (1992): 110.

The General Affairs Office administered the daily affairs of Muslim communities in coordination with the Kashag, whereas severe and major legal disputes were handed to the Secretariat of Agriculture. Even today, the General Affairs Committee of Muslims keeps the three-year tenure and election of all committee members.

Furthermore, a funeral and charity committee for Muslims in Tibet was founded before 1949, then disbanded in the Cultural Revolution and revived again in 1986. The committee is comprised of twenty-five members, most of whom are retired, and every member donates 30 Yuan monthly to the funeral fund. Taking a particular instance, for example, a Hui university student from Henan was pronounced dead after a car crash in 1992. The committee arranged a funeral, just after her death, with two hundred attendants whose presence showed the solidarity of the Muslim community. In the past, there were some identified organizations called *tong* (堂), which were organized by Muslim female elders, perhaps in connection with gangs in Sichuan.²²

The little mosque at Balang Street and Bang-jia Lin-ka Mosque in Shigatse historically housed Muslims from Kashmir who were the descendants of Muslim traders and generally enjoyed higher status than locals. Tibetan documents show, at least in one instance in June, 1679, that His Holiness Desi Sangye Gyatso (1653–1705) invited guests from “Kashmir” to his inauguration.²³ A 1957 mural in Norbulingka, shows the 14th Dalai Lama Tenzin Gyatso (1935–) surrounded by a handful of high-ranking people, among whom were two Kashmiri representatives.²⁴ According to *the Atlas of Tibet* (1886), the Kashmiri “believe in Islam and are identified by their trimmed beards and fine figure. They traveled around and traded their goods in the eight cities of the South Tianshan Circuit and Tibet where their footsteps have been found everywhere... The three leading representatives of Kashmiri Muslims in Lhasa and one in Shigatse are appointed for Muslim affairs.”²⁵ They are directly accountable to the Kashag for managing these Muslim communities and holding gatherings

22 Xue Wenbo (薛文波), “Hui Lhasa (*Lasa de Huizu*, 拉薩的回族),” *Gansu Ethnic Research* (*Gansu minzu yanjiu* 甘肅民族研究) 2 (1986): 68.

23 Danzhuangben, 184.

24 Jest, Corneille (傑斯特·科爾內耶), “Khache—Muslim Community in Lhasa (*Ka-qie he Jiaka-qie—Lasa de musulin shequ* 卡切和嘉卡切——拉薩的穆斯林社區),” trans. Xiang Hongjia (向紅筵) in *Tibet’s Customs* (*Xizang minsu* 西藏民俗) 4 (1997): 11. It is said the two people on the mural were Cela Bowala (拉策·波瓦拉 who moved to Kashmir later and Kamashaer Guoneimu Lasuerlake (卡瑪沙爾·廓內姆·拉蘇爾拉克) who was arrested in 1959 and died in prison.

25 Songyun (松筠), *Introduction and Maps of Tibet* (*Xi zhao tu lue Xizang tukao* 西招圖略·西藏圖考) (Lhasa: Tibet renmin shubanshe, 1982), 264.

to declare *hadith*, guiding the religious life of attendants in accordance with the words of the Quran. If a Kashmiri married a Tibetan woman, the Tibetan government deliberately required the offspring renounce Kashmiri citizenship—a son would be granted the status of an Indian citizen while a daughter was granted Tibetan citizenship. In addition, a Tibetan woman married to a Kashmiri was required to pay a tael (兩) of gold annually. These measures were meant to discourage cross-cultural marriage. Most Kashmiri Muslims fled in the aftermath of the 1959 Tibet uprisings and their communities crumbled as a result. Only a small population at present still lives in Tibet and keeps their customs.

The civic association organized by Qambo Muslims is akin to those clan associations in other parts of China. The earliest recorded association is called “Shaanxi Muslim Association,” which was founded in 1702 and it changed its name to “Shaanxi Association,” with a mosque built in 1719. In the late Qing, Han Chinese and Muslims of various origins organized another civic association called “The Association for Piety and Righteousness,” with a leader and four deputies, aiming at helping the elderly and the poor, raising funds for funerals, and mediating disputes, etc.”²⁶

4 Education and Publications

Muslims strongly maintain their religious education. All mosques in Lhasa, large or small, set up classes and teaching groups for religious education in order to popularize Islamic knowledge in the Muslim communities. They use various languages of instructions like Arabic, Tibetan, Chinese, Persian, and Urdu. According to one source, the 5th Dalai Lama once used Urdu in learning.²⁷ The Islamic education in Lhasa succeeds in its performance, thus sustaining itself in the flux of multicultural Tibet. Some Tibetan Muslims have even translated *suras* from the Quran into Tibetan. When the author and a colleague visited Kha-che Gling-kha in 1997, the imam of the little mosque, Abd-Ahmad, presented a gift to us of teaching materials in Arabic and Urdu from India, as well as the self-published materials, *Explanatory Notes on Patterns of Worship* (*Libai chengshi jieshao* 禮拜程式解說). *Explanatory Notes* shows parallel texts in Arabic and Tibetan written in vernacular style and borrowing from Arabic

26 Yang Chunling (楊純靈), *Muslims and Mosques in Changdu Tibet (Xizang Changdu Huizu muslim he qingzhensi* 西藏昌都回族穆斯林和清真寺) (Changdu: Xizang Changdu qingzhensi guanli weiyuanhui, 1994).

27 Dazhuangben, 122.

and Persian and including terms found in Buddhist texts.²⁸ The book, moreover, collected several translations of the Quran in Tibetan that are most commonly recited, namely *suras* 1, 107, 109, 112, 113, 114, and 2:225. These translations are easily read and understood with original texts, annotations and notes of intonations. A particular piece of translation showing these is found in *sura* 112 describing Allah in His oneness and uniqueness, divided in four sections. The Chinese translation by Ma Jian follows:

奉至仁至慈的真主之名

[1] 你说：他是真主，是独一的主；

[2] 真主是万物所仰赖的；

[3] 他没有生产，也没有被生产；

[4] 没有任何物可以做他的匹敌。²⁹

The parallel translation in the [Notes] is like this:

as ra-zuvu-li khyed-rang gis gsung-zhag |

Go-rdav zu-yas vdi sku-rkyang red ||

Go-rdav kho-rang su-vdra-zhig la re-gnang-dgos-ma-red ||

kho-rang su-vdra-zhig nas vkhrungs yod-pa-ma-red |

yang kho-rang las su-vdra-zhig vkhrungs-yod-ma-red ||

Go-rdav kho-rang la pha-ma spun-mched dang dgav-po nye-po su-vdra-zhis kyang yod-ma-red ||³⁰

Ah, ra-zuvu-li says,

Go-rdav the only one; [1]

Go-rdav does not depend on anybody; [2]

He does not have anyone who has given Him birth, [3]

And everywhere He never gives birth to anybody; [3]

Go-rdav, who has no parents, no relatives and no close friends. [4]

[Translated from the above Chinese version]

28 Chen Bo and Zhou Chuanbin, "Islamic Teaching Materials of Lhasa (*Lasa Musilin de Zangwen Yisilan jiaocai* 拉薩穆斯林的藏文伊斯蘭教材)," *Chinese Muslims (Zhongguo Musilin* 中國穆斯林) 3 (1999).

29 Ma Jian (馬堅), trans., *The Quran* (古蘭經) (Beijing: China Social Sciences Press, 1981), 486.

30 *Explanatory Notes on Patterns of Worship (Libai chengshi jieshao* 禮拜程式解說) (Lhasa: Little Mosque, 1997), 59.

Both the Tibetan translation of the Quran and other teaching materials written in Tibetan are a milestone of indigenization of Islam in Tibet.

In parallel with Tibetan Muslims receiving religious education, they also enthusiastically received modern education in both Tibetan and Chinese. Around 1914, the Great Mosque started offering classes for university, secondary, and primary students as well as for and women. The students came from other regions of China and Kashmir.³¹ The national Lhasa primary school, founded by the Kuomintang government and directly managed by the Secretariat of Border Education, received most of their students from the Great Mosque, with an assorted minority of Han Chinese, Tibetans and Nepalese. The languages of instruction were Tibetan, Chinese and Arabic.³² The primary school was closed after the Kuomintang retreated to Taiwan, and the *madrasah* of the Great Mosque re-opened. In 1952, however, another primary school was founded and the older primary school became a branch of the newly founded school. The old school was eventually moved from the Great Mosque in 1956 and renamed Second Lhasa Primary School. The teaching curriculum in relation to religion was then scrapped.³³ Because residents of Tibet began receiving Chinese education as early as the early 20th Century, by the late 1950s, after Tibet was liberated by China, Muslims, who had received a Chinese education, became more active in political, educational and cultural realms.³⁴

The text often referred to as Kha-che-pha-lu, *The Teachings of Calculus in the Secular Bearing of Acts*, by Kha-che-pha-lu, is one of the most important Tibetan poetic works about Tibetan Muslims and was widely circulated in the late 19th and the early 20th Centuries. In Chapter 2, there appears a verse, "Called Buddha in Tibetan, we pay our tribute to the most venerated Go-rdav," which is a Persian translation of Allah and suggests that the author is a Muslim. In Chapter 12, in relation to filial piety, the Islamic perspective is even more obvious:

31 Ma Guangyao (馬光耀), "The Trivial Matters on the Education of Lhasa Muslims (*Lasa Huimin jiaoyu suoyi* 拉薩回民教育瑣議)," *Research on Tibet (Xizang yanjiu* 西藏研究) 3 (1994): 51.

32 Chang Xiwu (常希武), "An Introduction to Kuomintang Education in Lhasa 1939–1949 (*Guomintang zai Lasa banxue jianjie* 國民黨在拉薩辦學簡介 [1939–1949])," in *Selections of Historical Data of Tibet (Xizang wenshi ziliao xuanji* 西藏文史資料選輯), 5th ed. (Tibet: The Committee of Cultural and Historical Data of Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference of Tibet Autonomous Region, 1985), 85.

33 See n. 34, *supra*.

34 Zhou Chuanbin and Chen Bo. "Chronicles of Tibetan Muslims (*Xizang Huizu renwu zhilue* 西藏回族人物志略)," *Muslims Research (Huizu yanjiu* 回族研究) 3 (1998): 37.

My parents, with such great benevolence and grace,
 How would they know their ages, or nay?
 And yet, do you think of your benevolent parents?
 If not, be ashamed in this place,
 Where you accumulate your wealth and benefaction,
 For Go-rdab in His zenith, and for parents in their benediction,
 And there is nothing comparable to their veneration.³⁵
 [Translated from the author's Chinese translation.]

Kha-che-pha-lu includes 612 verses in twelve chapters, with subjects including good governance, employment of good talents, conduct in life, teaching one's offspring, filial piety and self-discipline, teaching morals and behaviors by means of the karma theory of Buddhism. Each line of Kha-che-pha-lu is composed of nine syllables, but poems in the book do not adhere to the traditional rule of four lines per poem.³⁶ One possible explanation for this is that the poet might be an outsider.

5 Intellectual and Cultural Exchange

On the Tibetan Plateau, Islam does not merely appear as a religion, but also engages in cultural exchanges with Tibetan Buddhism. The *Dus-vkhor-rtsa-brgyud* or *The Kalachakra Tantra*, an important Tibetan Buddhist classic, references the concept of adi-Buddha in ways reminiscent of monotheism, describes the Islamic invasion of the Pure Land of Shambhala, and the “messianic” hope for the coming of Rudra Chakrin and fixes a starting date for the Kalachakra calendar that is related to the Islamic calendar. These details show the connection with Islamic monotheism.

5.1 *The Origin of Kalachakra Tantra and Monotheism*

The treatises of *Kalachakra Tantra* feature mysticism and monotheism. “The origin of *Kalachakra Tantra* is the origin of all religions, including [those of] Jesus, Manicheans, and Muhammad.”³⁷ The text is characterized by the following: (1) in terms of methods of practice, the tantra requires a practitioner

35 Zhongyang minzuxueyuan (中央民族學院), *History of Tibetan Literature (Zangzu wenxueshi 藏族文學史)* (Chengdu: Sichuan minzu chubanshe, 1985), 790.

36 Ibid., 792.

37 Hongxue (宏學), *The Buddhist Heritage in Tibet (Zangchuan fojiao 藏傳佛教)* (Chengdu: Sichuan renmin chubanshe, 1996), 310.

to note down the orbits and periodization of the Sun, the Moon and other stars, and synchronize the body's pulse, chakras, and breath in an ebb and flow that that ascends from [the realms of] humans and gods, unifying them; (2) in terms of cosmology, it explains a model of the universe that is distinctively distinguished from other Buddhist texts; and (3) *The Kalachakra Tantra* venerates adi-Buddha as being akin to the oneness that is the sole originator of all things and can be understood as its "creator."

According to *The Blue Annals* written in the Tibetan language, the sages and masters dated the discovery of Indian Kalachakra as having occurred in 1027 AD, and as having existed in ancient India.³⁸ Recent research shows that *Kalachakra Tantra* appeared in the 10th Century AD in India originating from North Tibet and Central Asia, its place of origin being near present-day Iran and Central Asia. Some western scholars also are interested in the origin of *Kalachakra Tantra*. Helmut Hoffmann locates the sources of *Kalachakra Tantra* at the Amu River (in Uzbekistan). Buddhism once dominated in the territories of Central Asia, where different religions, nations and cultures coexisted and fitted in the context that explains the origin of *Kalachakra Tantra*, whose content describes a melting pot of Islam, Christianity and Manichaeism.³⁹

5.2 *The City of Shambhala and its Relation to Islam*

Shambhala is said, by followers of Kalachakra teachings, to be the Buddhist Pure Land. As described, "It is round and surrounded by ice-ridges. The inner area within the walls is divided into eight petals, like a lotus, with rivers crossing each. At the center there stands a big snow mountain. Each petal has twelve city-states, with a head in each state ruling over numerous lands, altogether making a total of ninety-six. The mountain is divided into four parts in four continents. At the center of the mountain there stands a city called Kalapa.⁴⁰ It is said that the residents' personalities are not harsh, and they refrain from indulgence and desire; In order to preserve the highest teachings, the holy kings of the past kept it from total destruction of the external world. In many Tibetan texts, there are references to the history and succession of the Kalki kings. As noted earlier this chapter, during the reign of the 10th Kalki King, Samudra Vijaya (Tibetan: *Gyatso Namgyal*), Muslims (*Kla-klovi*) invaded

38 Gos Lo-tsa-ba Gzon-nu-dpal (廓諾 • 訊魯伯), *The Blue Annals (Qing shi 青史)*, trans. Guo Heqing (郭和卿) (Lhasa: Tibet renmin chubanshe, 1985), 494–495.

39 Helmut Hoffmann, "Kalacakra Studies I: Manichaeism, Christianity and Islam in the Kalacakra Tantra," *Central Asiatic Journal* 13 (1969): 52–73; Damdinsur, "A Commentary on Kalacakra or Wheel of Time," *Tibetan Journal* 1 (1981): 43–49; Louis Ligeti, ed., *Proceedings of the Csoma de Koros Memorial Symposium* (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1978), 59–63.

40 Blo-bzan-chos-kyi-ni-ma, 233.

Shambhala, and all the legends told in *The Kalachakra Tantra* are related to the historical fact that Muslims conquered the Buddhist lands in the river valleys of the Indus and the Ganges.

5.3 *The Messianic Hope in Kalachakra Tantra*

Buddhism spread for a thousand years before the rise of Islam. The eastward advance of Islam completely destroyed Buddhism in Persia, Central Asia and northern India, thereby threatening Buddhism's survival. In this context, *The Kalachakra Tantra* describes the avatar of Manjusri, the 25th Kalki king Rudra Chakrin (Tibetan: Dakpo Khorlocen), who is prophesized to defeat all degenerate rulers and establish a Golden Age. This prophecy parallels Christians' hopes for Jesus's resurrection and Shia Muslims' prophecy of the "hidden imam." Such messianic beliefs grow in times of deep oppression or when the religion that the followers believe in ebbs. Similarly, *The Kalachakra Tantra's* mysticism is central to Vajrayana teachings. Meanwhile, Persia and Central Asia were the cradle of Sufi mysticism, the content and style of which are similar to those of *The Kalachakra Tantra*. Moreover, Tibet is identified as sharing cultural roots with Persia and Central Asia. Before the rise of Tibetan Buddhism, as Tibetologists may generally agree, Bon was influenced by Persian Zoroastrianism, leading the author to suggest that research on the mysticism of *The Kalachakra Tantra* would be more fruitful if it were put into a wider context of cultural exchanges between Tibet and Persia.

5.4 *The Inaugural Year of me-kha-rya-mtso and the Hijri Calendar*

In 1027, Tibet set as its inaugural year the first *rabjung* (勝生周, the long cycle (60 years) of the Tibetan astronomical calendrical calculation)), which marked the introduction of *The Kalachakra Tantra*. Before this introduction, Tibet used *me-kha-rya-mtso* as the inaugural year. In Tibetan, "me (fire)" means "four"; "kha (null)" means "zero; and "rya (sea)" means "three." Thus *me-kha-rya-mtso* represents 403 years. According to the Tibetologist Huang Hao, if converted to the Gregorian calendar, and the inaugural year of 1027 of *The Kalachakra Tantra* being subtracted by *me-kha-rya-mtso* (403), the calculated year of the introduction of *The Kalachakra Tantra* is equal to 624 AD. In the Kalachakra calendar Tibet used the *me-kha-rya-mtso* as the calendar calculation after 624 AD. Meanwhile, *me-kha-rya-mtso* also marked the rise of Islam in India, because the period of Islam being practiced in India overlapped with the 403 years of Sumitra's suffering (Tibetan: Shenyen Zangpo), and therefore the year was named Kla-klovi.⁴¹

41 Bsod-nams grags-pa, note 72.

Historically, the year called *me-kha-rya-mtso* has some corresponding relation with the rise of Islam. The inaugural year of Hijri (the year used as the basis for calculation in the Islamic calendar) has been established as 622 AD, also the formative year of Islam. In 651 AD the Sasanian Empire in Persia was exterminated. In 711 AD, Qutayba ibn Muslim attacked Bukhara and Samarkand. In 712 AD Muhammad bin Qasim conquered the land reaching from the Indus to the Kashmir Mountains. Finally, in the 10th Century AD all religions in Central Asia, such as Buddhism, Manichaeism, and Zoroastrianism were defeated and all inhabitants were converted to Islam. The first empire converted to Islam was the Ghaznavid Dynasty (al-Ghaznawiyun, 962–1186 AD) that waged frequent wars against northern India. In other words, within the first cycle of 403 years of *me-kha-rya-mtso* (624–1027 AD), Islam launched numerous attacks and conquered Central Asia and India. However, the inaugural year of *me-kha-rya-mtso*, dated in 624 AD, is not long after Prophet Muḥammad moved to Medina (622 AD) and did not exert any far-reaching influence on Central Asia and India. It is therefore concluded that, at that time, Islam had little influence on Central Asia and India, and the question why the inaugural year of Hijri and that of Kalachakra are so close in history is still unsolved. According to Blo-bzan-chos-kyi-ni-ma, the heretical religious leaders, “mNgar-lDan or sBrang-rTsevi-Blo-Gros, preached Islam and designed the heretical calendar,”⁴² Here, some Tibetologists would say, sBrang-rTsevi-Blo-Gros was the Prophet Muḥammad. If this proposition is true, then it is inferred that the “heretic calendar” is probably Islamic Hijri.

This article has provided some basic materials on Tibetan Buddhism in relation to eastern philosophy and theology, and is subject to further refinement, but one point has been assured—that the on-going discussion of these materials will lead to a higher level of exchanges between Islamic and Tibetan cultures.

42 Blo-bzan-chos-kyi-ni-ma, 235.

A Brief Narrative of Chinese Style Islamic Relics

Feng Zenglie

Abstract

This chapter focuses on Islamic relics in China such as mosque architecture, holy relics for the use of reciting the Quran, stone inscriptions, engravings and paintings, and compares them with others in China. The comparisons, based on objective findings, show that the styles of Chinese and Islamic relics have been mixed and that some relics were made using Chinese techniques but with Islamic features. The author argues that Islamic relics made in Chinese styles further our understanding of the evolution of Islam in China.

Keywords

Chinese ornamentation – Islam – Relics

In medieval times, Arabs traded with China and brought along with them Arabic culture and religion, influencing Chinese astronomy, herbal medicine, art, language and, to a certain extent cultural and ethnic customs. Relevant to the spread of Arabic cultures in China is that such influences are epitomized by some Chinese characteristics as found in Chinese Islam in terms of scope, character, degree of influence and representational forms, all which are to be considered in depth. This chapter, focuses upon Chinese-style Islamic relics to further the discussion on the intersection of Islamic relics and Chinese ornamentation.

Historically, Islam was and is the principle religion in China's Hui communities. These communities have been influenced by Han Chinese culture such that it has become a crucial factor shaping their social characteristics.

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Such characteristics were brought about by the “Sinicization” of Islam,¹ together with some “Islamized” aspects of Chinese culture, for instance, the introduction of Islamic theological thought, rituals and mosque architecture into the Chinese context. Additionally, Chinese relics, such as memorial gateways (*paifang* 牌坊), couplets, seals, and stone inscriptions, underwent Islamization that created culturally-mixed artifacts with both Chinese and Islamic characteristics. Focusing on artifacts with dual characteristics, this chapter will not investigate relics that are classified as purely Islamic, purely Arabic or Hui, as they are out the scope of this investigation.

First, we will discuss mosques, where Muslims worship and which are often found in Muslim settlements around the world. Mosques, rectangular structures developed based on basilica architecture from the Byzantine Empire, were built by Arabs in the 7th century AD. The prayer hall faces the Ka’ba² in Mecca, being adjacent to a minaret and ablution rooms. Yet, while mosques were diffused around the world, Islamic architecture has gradually changed as it integrated local and national elements. As a result, Chinese mosques have distinctive characteristics compared to those found elsewhere.

In general, Chinese mosques are categorized into two stylistic types: one is Central Asian, which is represented by the mosques of the Uyghurs in Xinjiang; the other is Chinese, with these mosques serving the Hui, Salar, and Dongxiang ethnic groups. Before the Yuan Dynasty, Muslim Arabs, Persians and Indians built mosques on the southeast coast, including the Huaisheng Mosque in Guangdong and the Shengyou Mosque in Quanzhou. These mosques feature granite columns, cusped gates and windows, stone engravings in “Kufic” and “Naskh” styles, ornaments in emerald green and lofty minarets. By the Yuan and Ming Dynasties, mosques further developed as the Hui population, which

1 There are ten nationalities believing in Islam, which, to more or less extent, exhibit some national characteristics in each nationality. Putting these characteristics in place will show a whole picture what the Chinese characteristics of Islam are meant to be. But “Hui-ization” of Islam, in terms of strict scientific inquiries, was a consequence of a thorough cultural penetration of Han Chinese cultures into Islam believed by Hui communities, which were also “sinicized” as being understood in objective reality. This chapter refers only to the latter of Hui being deeply influenced by Chinese cultures.

2 Ka’ba is the cuboid-shaped building in Mecca, the center of the Heaven and Earth in Islam and the place of Allah “with the perpetual peace and tranquility, not linked to the zenith and the nadir, not set for creation, and only the sole originator of the world.” See: Liu Zhi (劉智), “Fundamental Doctrines *yuan jiao pian* 原教篇,” in *The Rites of Islam: A Summary* (*Tianfang Dianli* 天方典禮擇要解) (Tianjin: Tianjin guji chubanshe, 2006), role 1. As instructed in the Quran, Muslims should face the Ka’ba when prostrating. Mecca is due west to China, thus the posterior walls of qiblah face west.

had absorbed a lot of Chinese culture, grew substantially. Mosques built in the Yuan and Ming dynasties, therefore, featured a mix of both Chinese and Arabesque styles, making a distinctive architectural style in China.

Mosques in China were built in units of quadrangles aligned in groups. With their extensive use of traditional timber construction, they differ from Arab and Central Asian stone structures. Examples include the Niujie Mosque in Beijing, the Congjiang Mosque in Shanghai, the Qingxiu Mosque in Xian and the Great Tongxin Mosque in Ningxia. Some features of Arab architecture were converted into stone platforms, timber frames and glazed or plain roof tiles. In terms of color, moreover, columns were painted in crimson red, window frames in brown and walls in bluish green to give an ambience of solemnity. Following traditional Chinese architecture, the towers of mosques were constructed in circles, squares and polygons; a more complex version of such a tower is found on the main gate of the Great Tongxin Mosque: the rooftop was designed in double-eased, Modian style. Similarly a stand-alone construction, can be seen in the octagon-roofed, glazed-tiled and two-storied *mihrab* in the Qingxiu Mosque. Alternatively, the cusped shapes of Arab and Central Asian constructions were also converted into Chinese types of doors, verandahs, platform staircases and fenestrations like those found in ancestral halls and Buddhist temples, and rooftops designed in either double-eased Xieshan style or a single-eased Xieshan style rooftop joints with curved gables in a geared timber structure. In addition, interior columns could be greatly reduced to a minimum by the support of horizontal beams and brackets sets. Such architectural innovations resolved the problems of the hollow and domed structures found in Arab architecture and with a reduction of interior columns for structural support creating a larger space for congregants. Moreover, glazed walls and stone and timber *paifang* were constructed in larger mosques. Even the names of mosques adopted Chinese terms rather than being called *masjids* or *jam'i* (*jemaah*), such as the Quanzhou Qingjing Mosque, nicknamed "the Karin Mosque"; the Mosque in Hangzhou, called "Phoenix Mosque"; and the mosque in Congjiang, called "the Crane Mosque in the Clouds."

Despite the abovementioned architectural features of mosques having been converted into Chinese constructions, we still identify that they are mosques. Firstly, these mosques were all built with their main entrances facing east; *mihrabs* facing west, and contain other architectural requirements stipulated by Islam. Second, green being the principle color, especially applied to glazed tiles, symbolizes Islam with Chinese architectural characteristics. Thirdly, Islam bans any figures as religious ornaments and instead utilizes art concentrating on graphic geometrical forms. Owing to this, patterns of flowers with line art found in larger mosques are used for decorations on the roof boards; cloud

icons are found on relief carvings on bases and columns between bays; ornamental plants engraved on stones and bricks in the reading room; and ceilings ornamented with Arabic calligraphy intermingle with Chinese flower patterns. These ornaments and decorations, therefore, remind tourists and worshippers of neither a cultural emphasis on fortune (*fu* 福), prosperity (*lu* 祿) and longevity (*shao* 壽) in the Chinese cosmological view expressed in Confucian temples, nor the glittering *masjids*, but of a mosque built in China in its own distinctive character. In addition, plaques hanging from the beams are not engraved with Chinese calligraphy, but with *Tasmiyah* (or *Bismillah*) *Kalimah Tayyibah*, or *Shahadah* in Arabic script.³ Mosques built in Chinese architectural styles are distinguished from other Chinese buildings for their harmonious combination of both Chinese and Arabic patterns on ceilings, in contrast with the lofty and hollow interior space in Chinese temples and palaces. Similar creations are found on the main walls with engraved Arabic script, *Kalimah Tayyibah* with a background of swinging peach flowers or frosted chrysanthemums, providing an example of Islamic religiosity in mosque architecture revealing a distinctly Chinese artistic background. Other examples, such as the combination of a cusped gate and Chinese gate tower in the Tongxin Mosque and the alignment of the *riwaq* in the Niujiu Mosque, demonstrate this strong religious character of Chinese mosques as conveying an architectural blend.

Notwithstanding the architecture, engraving and painting as described above, Islam, like other religions, has its own relics. Similarly, these Islamic relics are sometimes styled with Chinese artistic characteristics.

Firstly, let us talk about relics related to reciting scripts. Very often *ahongs* (阿訇) are invited to recite the Qur'an at weddings, funerals and in commemoration of ancestors. Phylacteries, cases or drawers to protect the Qur'an during transport, are made in the sizes and of materials that are used in making drawers for Chinese ink slates, mirrors and books. These drawers or wood cases with lids that can be lifted are designed in upright rectangles that can hold up to thirty Qur'ans. Here only examples of three types of cases for storing the Qur'an are considered.

3 *Tasmiyah* or *Bismillah* is translated into English as "in the name of God, Most Gracious, Most Merciful," which is the first verse of chapters in the Quran. *Kalimah Tayyibah* means "There is no god but God, and Muhammad is the messenger of God." *Shahadah* is translated as "There is no god but only one God, and Muhammad is the messenger of God," more or less the same as *Kalimah Tayyibah* but with the additional emphasis on God as oneness. These verses are read and written in Arabic even in China. See: Liu Zhi, "The True Words of Muhammad (*di yan pian* 諦言篇)," in *Tianfang dianli* (天方典禮) (Tianjin: Tianjin guji chubanshe, 1988).

The first type of case is made of brown walnut with average dimensions of 60 cm high, 40 cm wide and 25 cm deep, with lift-up lids, though some come in larger sizes. On the surface, these lids are ornamented with fish-bone patterns or decorated with copper foil latticework in Arabesque flower patterns. Such patterns thus give an impression of a smooth tapestry of lines and images. On the inner surface of the lid, Qur'anic *Ayat*⁴ are engraved, such as "those who have not cleaned are forbidden from touching the Qur'an," or "the Qur'an descends from the creator of the world." The base, in contrast with the lid that is delicately designed and carved, is plain. A delicate piece of wood-carving on one lid was designed to resemble a three-story building with balconies and fences outside and the piercing-through technique showing the fences and the interior of the building in perspective. The building includes a flat rooftop, thus reiterating the fusion of Islamic and Chinese styles.

The second type of woodcraft is exemplified by a set of three wooden cases, made of *Phoebe zhennan*, decoratively ornamented. The set is 75 cm high and 35 cm deep. The cases on the right and the left sides are 56 cm wide; the central case, around 40 cm wide, is a hexagon. The tops are decorated with curved hips and gables without tiles. The base is fixed with four wooden legs for support. Plain and solid wooden plates are fixed at the posterior, in contrast with latticed, sliding doors at the front. The upper parts of the doors are pierced and fitted with glass; doorknobs in the shapes of antique vases are used to slide the doors. Miniature balconies have been carved at the edges of these doors, and on both the columns at the corners and fences between the columns, one finds delicate, raised-relief, and pierced-wood carvings. The case's inner plates are covered with silk in imperial yellow, visible through the latticed glass surfaces of these doors as are the colorful leather covers of the Qur'ans inside. This masterpiece demonstrates exquisite taste in terms of materials, design and craftsmanship. Originally collected in Xi'an, it was exhibited in Beijing during the Cultural Revolution. After the exhibition, it was rumoured that the piece was taken or confiscated by unknown persons or authorities. It is hoped that national authorities responsible for the preservation of cultural heritage will trace the location of this invaluable piece for permanent preservation by the state.

The third type is a small pierce-work case, 40 cm high and wide, and 10 cm deep, designed in the form of table plaques. The base is made of an array of thin bamboo culms, like a set of organ pipes, which were delicately pierced. Above the base is the actual case, the front and the sides of which are decorated with raised carvings of peony blossoms and leaves. A piece of glass was

4 *Ayat* in *The Quran* refer to verse.

fixed at the back of the case. It seems that the case was used for containing a small and abridged volume of the Qur'an.

As described above, Islamic mastercraftsmen created different styles of book cases for the storage of the Qur'an: vertical Chinese book cases for the first, a design resembling a Chinese palace for the second, and table plaques for the third. Of course, these masters are praised for their lifelong effort to make these invaluable masterpieces.

In addition to book cases, incense burners are another category of Islamic relics used during recitation. These burner are differentiated in large or small sizes, and made of copper, ceramic and other materials. A very large incense burner, weighing 77.5 kg was found in the Niujie Mosque, Beijing. Several burners made of ceramic were found in the Xinyou Mosque in Quanzhou with their manufacturing dates from the late Song to Qing Dynasties. One of the Qing burners described here has no earring-handles, being cylindrical in shape, and is embellished by white orchids. Quranic phrases such as *Kalimah Tayyibah* are inscribed on the sides of the burner with a round frame. Another burner, made in the color of rusty copper, is three-legged and in the shape of a walnut. *Kalimah Tayyibah* is also inscribed on the front and the back side of the burner. These ceramic burners, big and small, were made as collectibles, while most burners were made in the Shuande style of the Ming Dynasty, the most popular style in China. What differentiates them from other types of burners is the inscription, *Kalimah Tayyibah* or other *Ayat* which appear on the front of these most popular burners. Some rarities were identified as "purple steel burners" with blunt curves and shapes in contrast to other popular burners as previously described. What is more, burners are complemented by a set of three utensils, namely, ash spades, tweezers and copper vases in Chinese styles, and incense cases made of yellow or purple copper. Vases do not exceed 20 cm in height and 15 cm in radius, inscribed with *Kalimah Tayyibah* (*qingjing zhi yan* 清淨之言) or *Takbir* (*zan zhu zhi yan* 讚主之言) and featuring wooden bases. Moreover, some burners have gilt lids in the shapes of small cauldrons that are embellished with flowers and leaves. A third specimen was made in enamel blue in the shape of a wok with legs. Intended for burning sandalwood, it is covered with a lid, thus giving the whole piece a classic and elegant appearance with the inscription, *Kalimah Tayyibah*. These burners differ from other traditional incense burners that were made to resemble animals.

Plaques originating in China but written in Arabic were adopted as decorative arts by average Muslim families. There are three Arabic phrases commonly written on these plaques: (1) *Tasmiyah* (or *Bismillah*), the beginning of each chapter in the Quran, is often recited in daily practices. The copper plate on which *Tasmiyah* is inscribed is often hung above the lintel of Beijing

Muslim families' homes, a cultural equivalent to Chinese plaques inscribed with phrases denoting prosperity through five generations (*wu shi qi chang* 五世其昌) and the force of fertility coming from the east (*zi qi dong lai* 紫氣東來); (2) *Kalimah Tayyibah*, the start of practising five tenets and the oft-recited confirmation of *innaa lillaahi wa innaa ilayhi raaqioon* (*tianming wu chang, shouxian ren zhu, ren zhu bu che, qi wu suo gui* 天命五常, 首先認主, 認主不徹, 歧無所歸; To Allah we belong and to Him we shall return);⁵ (3) other quotes from the Quran. These inscriptions in various styles of calligraphy appear on rectangular or dune-shaped plaques, and are complemented by different Arabesque patterns. A small plaque was identified in the library of the Qingshao Mosque, 60 by 90 cm, on which the first letters of the names of Allah, Islamic prophets and the four Rightly-Guided Caliphs—the Rashidun Caliphate (the ordained caliphs)—were shown together.⁶ A stamped oval was intaglioed at the bottom of the plaque, with the Chinese characters “*xiao er jin*” (小兒錦),⁷ possibly referring to the carpenter who made the piece in the Ming Dynasty.

In the main hall of mosques or homes of Muslim families in China, traditional Chinese wall hangings like *zhongtang* (中堂 a large vertical scroll with a painting or calligraphy often hung in the central of the main wall of a room) and a Chinese couplet (*duilian* 對聯) can easily be found. Since images of animals are forbidden in Islamic doctrine, and some Muslims are reluctant to exhibit images of landscapes and flowers due to their devotion to religious life, some *zhongtang* and Chinese couplets in the Islamic style were created. On one hanging painting, for instance, the Chinese character, *shou* (壽), meaning longevity, was inscribed in ink with the background written in Arabic. Arabic script of various sizes and alignments was written inside the space of the large Chinese character. In other words, the character *shou* is like a skeleton containing the marrow of Arabic letters. Couplets requiring more than the visual elements found in paintings are composed in sentences of five, seven or nine characters chosen for the semantic and rhythmic correspondences of such compositions. In contrast with Chinese characters which are logographic, Arabic, like other Indo-European languages, is phonetic and the semantics of a meaning are differentiated by adding different derivatives of a word. Islamic couplets written in Arabic and found in China, however, adopted the Chinese equal-numbers-of-characters rule by filling the couple of Arabic verses of

5 Ma Zhu (馬注), “Identifying Allah (*ren zhu* 認主)” in *A Guide to Islam* (*Qingzhen zhinan* 清真指南) (Beijing: Beijing Press, 2000), role 4.

6 Four Rightly-Guided Caliphs were Abu Bakr, Uthman, Umar and Ali.

7 “*xiao er jin*” (小兒錦) is a Chinese pinyin directly translated from Arabic.

different length into two set of equal-number squares, making the couplets Arabic in terms of language, holy in terms of script, and Chinese in terms of form and style. Furthermore, we also find hanging screens of Arabic script in sets of four or eight pieces each. The calligraphy was gilded in a background of red, horizontally and symmetrically written and delicately carved. Other screens were decorated with squares, circles and other geometrical shapes in the background. All in all, these works of Chinese Islamic art are said to be innovative and Chinese-made Islamized relics.

The Islamic epitaphs have left many clues that are suggestive of the development of such works of Islamic art. Very few Tang or Song Dynasty Islamic epitaphs are located in Canton and Quanzhou in the present day. These stone epitaphs, in the shapes of rectangles or cusped rectangles, are records of the gravestones in Arabic that are embedded in the walls of mosques. After the Song Dynasties, the styles of epitaph masonry became more varied. For example, the Dongtaoshang Mosque in Quanzhou was renovated by Naina Umar ibn Ahmad ibn Mansur ibn Umar al-Albinia in 1322, and an epitaph was used in the ornamentation of a base with a raised-relief carving of a full moon instead of the crescent that symbolize Arabia, providing an example of the fusion of Chinese and Islamic works of art. More epitaphs and other inscriptions in other languages, such as Chinese, Persian or Arabic with Chinese translations, appeared after the Yuan Dynasty, and despite the Islamic prohibition of the use of animal figures, exceptions are found in epitaphs made in the Qing Dynasty, including a raised-relief carving of crawling dragons and the Chinese characters *huang qing* (皇清). Furthermore, more such bases for epitaphs have been found, like the figure of a turtle in the Qingshao Mosque, or two dragons playing with a pearl ball in the mosque in Congjiang. A possible reason for such breaks with prohibition was that the dragon is the symbol of the emperor and that a decree (*yongle zhaoming* 永樂詔命) was given directly by the emperor. The Gedimu sects (from the Arabic *qadim*, meaning “old”; referring to traditional Islam) therefore had to obey the imperial decree’s specifications about the details of the masonry related to the inscription.

Some questions regarding variations in calligraphy have been raised when referring to different works of art, such as plaques, large paintings and couplets as discussed above. The Arabic scripts on the sides of latticed windows of the Niujie Mosque, and the *mihrab*⁸ in the Qingshao Mosque, Xian were inscribed in *Kufic* (The most widely used early Qur’anic script named after the city of Kufa in Iraq) calligraphy, whereas, during the Song and Yuan times, the Arabic inscribed on the stone in the mosque of Quanzhou was in *Naskh*

8 *Mihrab* is where the imam stations himself to lead the congregation in prayers.

(a later style of Arabic calligraphy). By the Ming and Qing Dynasties, hand-written brush calligraphy became popular, and was practised by *ahong*. These Arabic scripts were written in tiny formats on bamboo strips with a sharpened bamboo brush. Calligraphers who master the art practice with big characters and often use loess water as the “ink” written on bluestones. The size of the written script depended on the width of the bamboo strips. The calligraphic techniques were borrowed from the Chinese tradition which emphasized the spontaneous movements of the fingertips holding the brush and the artist’s movement from the waist, thus controlling the various widths and the degree of concentrations of ink on different parts of the paper. In other words, Arabic calligraphy was creatively expressed through Chinese calligraphical art.

Islam has been fully and deeply integrated by Chinese Muslims in their daily lives. For instance, pork, being forbidden by Islamic custom, is not consumed by Chinese Muslims. Everyday objects used by Hui Muslims in China, in a similar way, unavoidably have some Islamic characteristics too.

Stone seals for personal use were and are popular in Chinese culture, and stone carving is a well developed Chinese art that is highly collectible. A minority of Muslim scholars and intellectuals carve their Islamic names and religious verses on their stone seals. For example, Ma Zhu, a famous Islamic scholar living in Yunnan in the early Qing dynasty, had his Islamic name “Yusuf” stamped on his books with three different stone seals in different Arabic styles, akin to the Confucian scholar Daizhen’s calligraphy that was delicate and elegant. We believe, with more time being given to our research, we shall discover more works about stone seals in Arabic.

A second example of the popular use of calligraphy can be seen on the caps worn by Chinese toddlers living in the Northwest. Around the age two or three they customarily wear a cap like the *taqilah* but with an opening at the center exposing the skull. According to doctors of Chinese Traditional Medicine, such a design allows ventilation and prevents the skull from “overheating.” At the front of the cap there is a small, round silver plate with a symbol of a dragon or the Chinese character *fu* (福). The plate is flanked by two smaller plates with the Chinese characters “*changming baisui*” (長命百歲), which means long life to a hundred years old. Northwest Muslims adopted this custom of wearing such caps, but on the larger plates *Tasmiyah* is inscribed; the two additional plates have the Arabic names of four Islamic angels. The four angels are: Jibrīl, Allah’s messenger; Mika’īl, who governs nourishing Muslim bodies and soul; Isrāfil, who blows the horn twice pending the end of time; and ‘Izrā’īl, the angel of death. The silver plates are surrounded by peach blossoms. The well-crafted and tiny silver plates exemplify a fusion of national tastes of both China and Islam.

A third aspect of calligraphy is seen in paintings with an artistic mixture of Chinese and Islamic elements with themes unlike those portrayed in Buddhist-influenced art or traditional ink drawings of ornamental plants found in Chinese paintings. Qur'anic verses in Arabic embellished the objects of paintings, such as Noah's Ark, the sword of Alibaba, and so on. As previously mentioned, one technique is found in the small Arabic inscriptions in the inner space of the larger words like *shao* and *Tasmiyah*. In Chinese paintings, one artistic school concentrated on realistic portrayals of ornamental plants, which were suggestive of a state of tranquility. The Islamic artists borrowed this idea from Chinese paintings while adapting it to their own creations. The type of Islamic painting, in either horizontal or vertical scrolls, took the form of ink or printed paintings with a range of objects such as flower basins, legged incense burners, and well-crafted antique mirrors connoting "scent and reverence." These crafted objects were decorated with orchids, chrysanthemums, and peonies and Arabic scripts were inscribed on their surfaces with white strips in different styles like Caoshu in Chinese calligraphy, from the top to the bottom, with only a few vowels. This calligraphic style, probably created in the Yuan and Ming periods, was akin to that found on Persian stone inscriptions in Xi'an. Furthermore, horizontal pictorial inscription in Arabic are often found at the top right corner (and/or other places) of the paintings, which indicates an obvious cultural blending of Chinese and Islamic cultures. Additionally, long scrolls with handles that can be affixed to incense burners and bells demonstrate high craftsmanship in both paintings and carpentry. The incense burners and bells to which the former are affixed have their bases and their posteriors inscribed in Arabic, evidence of Arabic influences.

Lastly, a table screen also shows the Islamic influence in Chinese art. The specimen was framed in a square, and flower patterns ornament the edges of an inner circle on which *Shahadah* is repeatedly inscribed. The Square is surrounded by ten rectangles, in which many circles are enclosed in the pattern of crosses. The whole masterpiece is distinctively austere and elegant, thus inspiring a feeling of reverence and appreciation.

In this chapter, we have examined and discussed various works of art relating to Islamic expression, thus exploring the breadth and depth in the marriage of Chinese artwork and Islamic cultures. It could be cautioned that, depending on geographic and historical differences in different stages of Islamic dissemination in China, different forms of artwork arose and developed in correspondence to such stages. The discussion here is only the tip of the iceberg and the author admits that he knows only a small fraction of the treasures of Islamic relics. It is believed that more such works of art will be discovered in the diverse Hui communities, and that they will spur further research and

documentation of their descriptions and the content of these pieces relative to theories on Islamic relics. This proposed research definitely identifies crucial stages and factors that explain the Islamic evolution of ten nationalities in the web of influences in Islamic laws, doctrines and religious customs that come into play, therefore unveiling certain Chinese characteristics of Chinese Islam. Nonetheless, the Islamic evolution, as such, is unbalanced and more complicated in reality than in theory. The synopsis of this chapter is a preliminary investigation that offers hints and clues to further research and serves as a call for extended scholarship and open-ended discussions in order to identify some agreed-upon characteristics of Islamic art in China. Presuming the unchanged and fundamental principles of our understanding of Islamic evolution in China, we assert that some Chinese characteristics exist in the questions we have raised that can be clarified by continued research.

Studies of Islam in China in the Twentieth Century

Gao Zhanfu

Abstract

This chapter explores Chinese Islamic Studies in the twentieth century with particular emphasis on historical changes and development, thus providing a systematic account of the history of Chinese Islamic studies in relation to the particular social environments under investigation. This chapter examines and reaffirms the significance of Chinese Islamic history in the last century, drawing on resources from folklore and various texts that have been particularly significant, including national studies and the social sciences. Particular attention has been given to clearly portray the historical facts related to such studies to ensure academic rigor and readability.

Keywords

Twentieth Century – China – Islam

Islam was introduced into China almost 1,300 years ago, during the Tang Dynasty. Originally perceived as a foreign religion, Islam underwent an extraordinary historical process and now ten Chinese nationalities embrace Islam. Meanwhile, the study of Chinese Islamic history has developed apace with the growth of the religion in China, and the field has an established reputation dating back to non-Muslim Chinese scholars recording and introducing the basic beliefs and religious activities of Muslims more than one thousand years ago. During the long period of Chinese Islamic Studies, the last hundred years of the twentieth century are characterized as the most vibrant, creative period and a vast quantity of research has been produced in this era. The last century of academic research on Chinese Islamic history can be divided into two periods: (1) before and (2) after the establishment of the Peoples' Republic of China

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in 1949. Prior to discussing Chinese Islamic Studies of the Twentieth Century, there is a brief review of the history of Chinese Islamic Studies before the twentieth century that is deemed necessary for readers to grasp the topic and that is also important to our understanding. This chapter proceeds to explore: (a) Chinese Islamic Studies before the Twentieth Century; (b) Chinese Islamic Studies prior 1949; and (c) Chinese Islamic Studies after 1949.

1 Chinese Islamic Studies before the Twentieth Century

Starting with trade in the Tang Dynasty, Islam reached China through the encounters of Muslim traders. Due to their high mobility in trading activities, in addition to their relatively limited numbers, the presence of Muslims in China attracted little attention. Later, after settling in, cohabitating with locals and marrying Chinese women, “foreign” Muslims became part of Chinese society. This development also encouraged the development of bilateral relations between China and Arab countries. Some Chinese travelers went to Arab countries and documented their findings. Du Huan (杜環), a Tang military staff member captured by the Arabs, recorded his eye-witness account of Muslim and Arab lifestyles in his *Travelogues* (*Jin xin ji* 經行記). To our knowledge, his writing is the earliest Chinese historical text to record Arab lives and Islam in the Chinese language; it represents how Tang Chinese perceived the lives of Muslims. Zhu Yu (朱彥) in the Northern Song Dynasty wrote *Pingzhou Table Talks* (*Pingzhou ke tan* 萍洲可談), published in 1119 AD. The book is a detailed account of trade, living environment, customs, social exchanges, marital status, and even the locations of foreign trading houses (*fanfang* 蕃坊). It also depicted the election and assignment of trading house leaders (*fanzhang* 蕃長) as appointed by the Imperial Court, which was responsible for overseeing foreign trade and registering and indexing names of trading houses, some of which included Muslims emigrating to Guangzhou. Furthermore, Zhao Rukuo (趙汝适) wrote a two-volume book called *Description of the Barbarians Peoples* (*Zhu fan zhi* 諸蕃志). The second volume documents extensive records of Tazi or Tajik Muslims from the Islamic heartlands (大食 *dashi*, often associated with the name Tajik) trading in the Jiangzhe (江浙) region. Yue Ke (岳珂), of the Southern Song Dynasty, provided records of settlements and customs of Arab Muslims in his work, *History of Ting* (程史). Other works, like *A Geographical Encyclopedia at the Outskirts of Pamir* (*Ling wai dai da* 嶺外代答) by Zhou Qufei (周去非) (1135–1189 AD) and *An Internal Journey in My Heart: Collective Poems* (*Xin shi* 心史) by Zheng Suonan (鄭所南) (1241–1318 AD), also reference Chinese Islam. These historical and personal writings, expressed

in Buddhist terms by these Chinese literati, do not, however, possess any value for further research. The reason is that the travelogues are subjective opinion. Du Huan, for instance, termed the *Jum'a* (Friday) preaching of an imam as "leading prayers on the *mihrab* in his parlance;" Zheng Suonan described the five-times-a-day *adhān* called, by a muezzin, from a minaret as "calling the Buddha loudly and endlessly;" Yue Ke described a mosque as a building "with installed halls and holy names being worshiped, like those in the Buddhist temples without statues inside." Seen from exotic eyes and depicted in exotic terms, Muslims in these personal accounts are treated as questionable, impressionistic and confused, and as subjects of memoirs that reflect the levels of the popular understanding of Islam found during the times they were written. Strictly speaking, these accounts cannot be considered as research on Chinese Islam.

From the Tang to Yuan Dynasties (approximately 7th to 14th Centuries), foreign travelers, after traveling extensively in China, also wrote travelogues related to the basic living conditions of Muslims in China. The Arab merchant Sulayman completed *Travelogue in China and India* in 880 AD, in which he documented Muslims living in the Southeast coastal areas during the Tang Dynasty. According to Sulayman, not only did Chinese officials refrain from intervening in Muslim activities and customs, they also granted Muslims liberty to self-administer their religious and internal affairs in densely populated ports like Guangzhou. This resulted in furthering the spread of Islam in Guangzhou and other parts of China. Sulayman's observation of the lenient rule of Tang Chinese officials over Muslim merchants was a historical supplement that filled in details not covered by Chinese historical texts, and significantly contributed to new findings in relation to Chinese Islamic history and transport history between China and the Muslim world. Ibn Battuta, arriving in China in the Yuan Dynasty, wrote about Islam in various provinces where mosques were open for worship and congregational gatherings, and where a chief official was appointed in each province in charge of administering Muslim affairs. Detailed eyewitness accounts of Muslim lives and events were portrayed in major ports in Quanzhou, Hangzhou and Guangzhou and impressively included a narrative of a purportedly 200-year old Sufi master, possibly one of the earliest written records on Sufis in China that has been translated into Chinese. Marco Polo, whose *Journey to the East* is best known today, travelled for about three and a half years along the Silk Road to China starting in 1271. Rustichello of Pisa wrote narrations of Marco Polo's journeys in which he provided details about the lives of Muslims in the Hexi Corridor and northwest China, filling in additional missing parts of Chinese Islamic history in Chinese texts.

The Yuan Dynasty Chinese understanding and knowledge of Islam were inscribed on stones erected outside mosques. These inscriptions included Islamic doctrines on “the absolute oneness of God (*tawhid*).” In 1348 AD, a mosque was reconstructed in Dingzhou (now Ding County in Hebei Province) and the inscription showed understanding of Islamic doctrine, reading as follows: “the core doctrine of Islam is to believe in a God with no face and no image.” What Muslims believe about “Allah” is “a God with no traces and figurations; it would be sacrilegious if one believes Allah is in things; Muslims must obey the holy orders from Allah.” The inscription continues, “that every Muslim must follow the ritual of praying five times a day, and fasting at Ramadan once a year.” Furthermore, the inscription instructed Muslims to bow in the precise direction: “China is east of Mecca, and mosque congregants should face west.” Another inscription, completed in 1350 AD for the renovated mosque, Qingjingsi (清淨寺), in Quanzhou provided detailed records of Islamic rituals and doctrines, which are described as follows: “... the religion that holds the belief that all things and creatures originated from Heaven, from the only creator of whom there are no images, figures, statues or sacred objects. Every Muslim must fast one month, annually; cleanse his body before mosque congregations and before moving to different places. A Muslim should bow and worship in a westerly direction while reciting Holy Scriptures. With regards to these doctrines and practices enshrined in Holy Scriptures, all of which a Muslim recites during prayer, five times a day, were set out by Mohammad in thirty collections, which consist of 114 parts and 6,666 volumes.” This inscription tells us that the understanding of Yuan Chinese was far more advanced than that of their ancestors, thereby arousing research interest in the connection between Islam and the more dominant Confucianism. The stone inscription in the mosque at Dingzhou, and others elsewhere, draws the similarities between Islam and Confucianism, within which “Muslims and Chinese alike pay their labor taxes and rents on the first day of the month.” These historical inscriptions demonstrate that Islam, as seen in the increasing number of mosques constructed, was widespread and clung tightly to Chinese society since the Yuan Dynasty. This stage of Islamic development in China moved to new heights of mutual understanding between Islam and Confucianism.

Chinese studies on Islam reached maturity in the Ming dynasty (1368–1644 AD) as a result of deepening understanding between Chinese and foreign Muslims. Some writings of the Chinese diaspora in this period, such as Ma Fuan’s *The Overall Survey of the Ocean Shores* (*Yingya shenglan* 瀛涯勝覽), Fei Xin’s article. *The Overall Survey of the Star Raft* (*Xing cha sheng lan* 星槎勝覽) etc., offered detailed descriptions of Islam and Islamic countries, creating consistent historical records of naval routes by the great imperial navigator,

Zheng He (鄭和). The stone inscriptions found in mosques reflected the real circumstances of how Islam integrated into Chinese culture. The inscription of the reconstructed Qingjing mosque in Quanzhou (1609 AD), as previously mentioned, described the preceding events and architectural styles of the rebuilt mosque, and offered a detailed comparison between Islam and other religions like Confucianism and Buddhism. Such comparison outlines the rise and fall of those three religions in their respective and objective conditions. In Islam's case, by the 16th Century AD, Chinese Muslims had carried out Scripture Hall Education and more Muslims developed deeper understanding of what it meant to be Muslim. Later in the late Ming and early Qing dynasties, some Muslim scholars advocated using Confucian texts in interpreting Holy Scriptures in order to promulgate Islam, thus launching an intellectual movement of remarkable scale. This movement, no doubt, marked a watershed with the preceding development of Chinese Islam that entered in Chinese scholarship through translations, descriptions, commentaries and integration of Islamic scriptures into Chinese traditional cultures.

Several works outlining this intellectual movement are particularly noteworthy: three works, *A True Explanation of the Right Religion* (*Zhengjiao zhenquan* 正教真詮), *The Great Learning of Islam* (*Qingzhen daxue* 清真大學), and *Rare and True Answers* (*Xizhen zhengda* 希真正答) by Wang Daiyu (王岱輿) provided the fundamentals of how Confucians understood Islamic knowledge and philosophy; the seminal work by Ma Zhu (馬注), *A Guide to Islam* (*Qingzhen zhinan* 清真指南), covered Islamic history, scriptures, philosophy, laws, cosmology and legends; Liu Zhi (劉智) wrote about Islam and among his representative works was *The Rituals of Muslims*, which was the first Chinese text on Islam included in *Emperor's Four Treasuries* (*Si ku quan shu* 四庫全書) under the decree of Qing Emperor Qianlong (乾隆), where Islamic philosophy, law, culture and customs were classified and described in detail, thus affirming Liu's research on Islam in Chinese society. Introducing theories and practices of Sufism in terms of faith, Zheng Shizhong (張時中) translated *The General Principles of the Islamic Ways* (*Guizhen zongyi* 歸真總義) and *Four Essays to the Ways of Islam* (*Si bian yao dao* 四篇要道) from Arabic. Similarly, Wu Junsi (伍遵契) translated *The Basic Principles of Islamic Ways* (*Guizhen yaodao* 歸真要道) which provided supplementary texts for *madrasah* education on the subjects of actual practices in Islamic philosophy and the self-cultivation of Muslims.

After the mid-Qing Dynasty, Islamic Studies made some breakthroughs. These were represented by scholars Ma Dexin (馬德新) (1794–1874 AD) and Ma Lianyu (馬聯元) (1841–1895 AD). Being a prolific writer, Ma Dexin mastered Arabic, Persian and Chinese, and wrote more than 30 books, including those on such subjects as Islamic doctrines, codes, jurisprudence, religious philosophy,

Arabic grammar, astronomy, history, and geography. His Chinese works on Islamic jurisprudence, *Essence of the Four Canons* (*Sidian yaohui* 四典要會) and his *The Diary of Pilgrimage Journey to Mecca* (*Chaojin tuji* 朝覲途記) translated from Arabic by Ma Anli (馬安禮) became classics. Much of Ma Lianyuan's work, however, was written in Arabic for *madrasah* education, for instance, *Arabic Grammar* (*Sui le fu* 綏勒府), *Summary of Fiqh (Jurisprudence)* (*Mu xi mo ti* 穆希莫提), etc. Ma Lianyuan then continued to write *Dialectics of the True Religion* (*Bian li ming zheng* 辯理明證), arguing for the monotheism of Islam with reasonableness and eloquence.

In addition, Ma Dexin's *The Literature Translation of the Quran: the Most Treasured True Book* (*Baoming zhenjing zhijie* 寶命真經直解), a direct translation from the Quran, and Ma Lianyuan's *Annotated Explanations of Quranic Texts* (*Hai ting yi jie* 亥聽譯解) were believed to be the earliest selected Chinese translations from the Quran.

At the end of the Qing Dynasty, one can grasp what being a Muslims in China was like at this time when reading books written by officials or civilians such as *A Brief History of Lanzhou* (*Lanzhou ji lue* 蘭州紀略), *An Atlas of Qinghai* (*Xun hua zhi* 循化志), *Military History of the War Against the Rebels of Shifengbao* (*Shifengbao jilue* 石峰堡紀略), and *A History of Pacifying the Hui* (*Ping Hui zhi* 平回志). The last two book titles were also included in the *Emperor's Four Treasuries* collection.

Writings on Chinese Islam, before the twentieth century, were therefore, in general, produced by non-Muslims, with a few exceptions of travelogues written by some Muslim travelers from abroad. Most stone inscriptions related to mosques quoted above and elsewhere were composed by non-Muslims. At the beginning of the Qing Dynasty, the critical mass of Islamic scholars created a tide of intellectual promulgation of Islamic texts, which were then left as treasuries of prolific writings on Chinese Islam that would later influence present-day Islamic thoughts. In other words, research on Chinese Islam before the twentieth century was restricted to regional and periodic influences whose values and contributions are difficult to know or be judged by common Muslims. Given these constraints as outlined above, from a historical perspective, we treasure the brilliant contributions of the above works to the intellectual legacy of Chinese Islamic culture and the trajectory of Muslim society in history.

2 Chinese Islamic Studies before 1949

The turn of the Twentieth Century marked a turn in Chinese Islamic studies set on a new stage by Islamic associations. In 1907, Muslims having recently

studied in Japan organized a body called the Eastern Muslim Education Association and published articles about Islam like “The Islamic Civilization” in the inaugurating issue of the associational press *Awakening Muslims*, thereby establishing a milestone in Chinese Islamic Studies. Following the Eastern Muslim Education Association, the Chinese Muslim Society was founded in 1913 in Beijing, and thereafter Ha Decheng (哈德成) and others established the Muslim Association in 1917, with the aim of “promoting thoughts and schools of Islam, complemented with rigorous research...” He later founded the Chinese Islamic Society in June 1925, aiming at “teaching Muslims in schools and libraries” and edited Muslim journals. Muslim students in Beijing in different learning institutions jointly organized by the Islamic Alumni Association offered a base for researching Muslim intellectual and youth cultures, with its members coming from more than thirty institutions including universities and secondary schools from fifteen provinces. Islamic organizations became more differentiated when the Chinese Islamic Promulgating Bureau was founded in Shanghai in 1933 and the Islam Preaching Society in Taiyun in 1934, both aiming at promulgating and researching Islam. Finally, before World War Two, Bai Shouyi (白壽彝) and others founded the Chinese Islamic Cultural Society and its members included a handful of Islamic scholars like Na Zhong (納忠), Ma Jian (馬堅), Ha Decheng, Pang Shiqian (龐士謙), Ma Zongrong (馬宗融), who devoted their lives to research and the translation of the Islamic culture of the Hui community and who produced more than ten volumes on Islamic cultures. These publications describe the Chinese Islam Cultural Society as one of the most influential Islamic associations in the Kuomintang Era.

From 1900 to 1949, more than a hundred Islamic organizations were founded, with many having been sustained as a major task force, for continuing research on Islam in the second half of the twentieth century in China.

In terms of numbers of Islamic publications during this period, from the inaugural publication of *Awakening Muslims* in 1908 to the end of 1949, the number of Islamic publications grew by more than one hundred items. Almost all these items aimed at “coherently illustrating and interpreting Islamic doctrines, advocating *madrasah* education, fostering cultural exchanges, and thereby disseminate messages to Muslims of all lands.” These publications not only focused on *madrasah* education as their common denominator, but they also introduced the locational varieties of Islamic cultures to a greater or lesser extent. Furthermore, researchers gathered scattered historical materials about Islam, which became a crucial part of current Islamic archives. These publications, related to historical research and archives, included *Islam in China* (Yuehua 月華) first issue in Beijing, November 1929; *Journal of Chinese Islamic Society Monthly* (*Zhongguo huijiao xuehui yuekan* 中國回教學會月刊), founded

in Shanghai, 1926; *The Light of Islam* (*Yiguang yuekan* 伊光月刊), founded in Tianjin, 1927; *Becoming Teachers Monthly* (*Cheng shi yuekan* 成師月刊), established in Beijing, 1934; *Yunnan Muslim Herald* (*Yunnan qingzhen duo bao* 雲南清真鐸報), established in Kunming, 1929; *Breakthrough Monthly* (*Tujue* 突崛), founded in Nanjing, 1935; and later on *Islamic Culture* (*Huijiao wenhua* 回教文化) in Wuhan; *The Voices of Muslims* (*Huimin yanlun* 回民言論) founded in Chongqing; and *The Green Flag* (*Lüqi* 綠旗), established in Shanghai. Islamic publications were also found in cities like Zhenjiang (Jiangsu), Fengtian (Liaoning), Guangzhou (Canton), Hong Kong, Changde (Hunan), Tai'an (Shandong), Kaifeng (Henan), Luhe (Jiangsu), and Xining (Qinghai), etc. These publications were circulated in different regions of China. With regard to their regional influences, *Islamic Theories* (*Tian fang xue li* 天方學理) was representative of the Pearl River Delta, *Breakthrough Monthly* and *Dawn* (*Chen Xi* 晨曦) located their influences in the Yangtze River region; *The Light of Islam*, *Islam in China*, *Becoming Teachers Monthly* and *Islamic Youth* (*Yisilan qiannian* 伊斯蘭青年) were circulated around the Yellow River; *Times of Awakening Monthly* (*Xingshi yuekan* 醒時月刊) in the Northeast. Among the above, *Breakthrough Monthly* produced the most scholarly writings; *Islam in China* (月華) had the largest circulation per issue and is considered a representative Chinese publication exchanged with Muslim people from Arab countries.

Islamic education thus marked a new era as more and more publications appeared in Chinese fostering the promulgation of Islam. More publishing houses were founded in response to the increased demands of the Muslim readership, and the list included China Islamic Scripts Press, Islamic Culture Co-op House, and Muslim Holy Scripts Press in Shanghai; Islam Publishing Company, Muslim Book and Magazine Press, Yu Hua Culture Co-op House, and The Publication Branch, Chengda Normal School in Beijing; The Comrades' Club of Islamic Culture Press in Kweilin and Chongqing; Script Circulation Press in Chengdu; and the Revitalizing Society in Yunnan. All of these publishing houses listed here publish copious volumes of Islamic textbooks and translated scripts from Arabic that no doubt contribute to research on Chinese Islamic Studies.

In the meantime, various Chinese versions of the Quran have been published and distributed. For example, Tie Zheng (鐵錚) completed his translation of the Quran, which was first published by Chinese Publishing House in Beijing in December 1929. A later version, edited by Ji Juemi (姬覺彌), was published in March 1931 by Shanghai Aili Yuan Extended Dictionary Scholarly Press. A Muslim scholar, Wang Jingzhai (王靜齋), published his *Annotated Explanations on the Quran* (*Gulanjing yijie* 古蘭經譯解) with Beijing Chinese Islam Promoting Association Press. Furthermore, another scholar, Liu Jinbiao

(劉錦標) wrote *Supplementary Notes and Exegeses of the Quran* (*Kelanjing fuzhuan* 可蘭經附傳), which was then published by Beijing Xinmin Press in 1943, and Yang Jingxiu (楊敬修) translated *Basic Doctrines of the Quran* (*Gulanjing dayi* 古蘭經大義) published and distributed by Beijing Islam Publishing Company. The different versions of the Quran, translated into Chinese, started from a small-scale circulation within an intellectual circle and they eventually became popular among Muslim families across China. This growing Islamic readership and the thrust of these publications as reviewed above led Islamic scholarship to more profound academic discussions both in terms of depth and breadth.

Additionally, a group of Islamic scholars specialized in publishing their research outcomes. Examples of their works are *Islamic Philosophy* (*Huijiao zhexue* 回教哲學) translated by Ma Jian (Shanghai: Commercial Press), *Islam* (*Yisilanjiao* 伊斯蘭教) by Na Zhong (Beijing: The Publication Branch), *Introduction to Islam* (*Yisilanjiao gailan* 伊斯蘭教概論) by Wang Jingzhai (Tianjin: Yiguang Newspaper Publishing), *Studies in Chinese Islamic History* (*Zhongguo Huijiaoshi Yanjiu* 中國回教史研究) by Jin Jitang (金吉堂), *Islam and Life* (*Huijiao yu rensheng* 回教與人生) by Ma Congting (馬松亭), *The Historical Origins of Islam* (*Li yuan zhen ben* 曆源真本) by Ma Zicheng (馬自成), and *Chinese Islamic History* (*Zhongguo Huijiao shijian* 中國回教史鑒) by Ma Yiyu (馬以愚) (Changsha: Commercial Press). In 1935 and afterwards, the prolific writer Bai Shouyi (1909–2000 AD) penned *A Brief History of Chinese Islam* (*Zhongguo Huijiao xiaoshi* 中國回教小史), *A Historical outline of Chinese Islam* (*Zhongguo Yisilan shi gangyao* 中國伊斯蘭史綱要), *References to a Historical Outline of Chinese Islam* (*Zhongguo Yisilanshi gangyao cankao ziliao* 中國伊斯蘭史綱要參考資料), *Annotated Explanations on Edited Selections in the Rituals of Islam* (*Tian fang dian li zeyao jie* 天方典禮擇要解). Bai published journal articles that remain influential in present-day Islamic scholarship, including the following: “The earliest Chinese records of Chinese Islam in the Battle of Talas (*Cong Daluosi zhanyi shuodao Zhongguo Yisilanjiao zhi zuizao de huawen jilu* 從怛羅斯戰役說到中國伊斯蘭教之最早的華文記錄),” “The collective eyewitness accounts of Hui rebellions in Yunnan in the reigns of Qing Emperors Xianfeng and Tongzhi (*Xian Tong dianbian jianwenlu* 咸同滇變見聞錄),” “Chronicles of Imam and Islamic scholars (*Huijiao xian zheng shilue* 回教先正事略),” “The development of Chinese Islam (*Zhongguo Yisilan zhi fazhan* 中國伊斯蘭之發展)” and “The scholarly movements of Chinese Islam in the Ming and Qing Dynasties (*Ming Qing jian Zhongguo Huijiao xueshu yundong* 明清間中國回教學術運動).” These articles undoubtedly confer Bai’s worldwide recognition as a veteran researcher on modern Chinese Islamic history. Furthermore, in Bai’s generation, Chinese Islamic

scholars, such as Ma Jian, Yang Zhijiu (楊志玖), and Na Zhong have published numerous research results in various publications.

Several Han Chinese scholarly works on Islam, moreover, were comparable to those of their Hui colleagues: Chen Yuan's (陳垣) *A History of Chinese Muslims* (*Huih Huijiaoren Zhongguo shilue* 回回教人中國史略) and *The Cultural Assimilation of Minorities to China in the Western Border* (*Xiyuren huahua kao* 西域人華化考), and Chen Hanzheng's (陳漢章) *An Islamic History in China* were outstanding in terms of methodology, depth, etc., and threw light upon Islamic Studies in China.

To put it succinctly, whether these scholars came from either a Han (represented by Chen Yun) or a Hui background (represented by Bai Shouyi), it could be said that their works are duly recorded in history for their valuable contributions to Islamic Studies that advanced the discipline to a new stage.

3 Chinese Islamic Studies in New China after 1949

Between 1949 and 1999, Chinese Islamic Studies started and developed anew with its distinctive historical context that makes it different from those periods described above. *People's Daily*, on 25 October 1949, at the fresh start of a new China, publicized, "Reply to Muslim Imam Ma Liangjun of Xinjiang Huizu from Chairman Mao and Marshall General Zhu De, PRC (*Mao zhuxi Zhu zongsiling fudian Xinjiang Huizu zongjiaozhang Ma Liangjun* 毛主席朱總司令複電新疆回族總教長馬良駿)," and, following this, published, "The General Order of the State Council to the Conditional Waivers of Inspection of, and Butchery Tax on, Livestock for Self Consumption in Three Major Islamic Festivals (*Zhengwuyuan guanyu yisilanjiao de renmin zai qi sanda jieri tuzai ziji shiyong de niu yang ying mian zheng tuzuishui bing fangkuan jianyan biao zhun de tongling* 政務院關於伊斯蘭教的人民在其三大節日屠宰自己食用的牛羊應免征屠宰稅並放寬檢驗標準的通令)." According to *People's Daily* on 22 December 1956, "Chairman Mao and Vice-Chairman Zhu De officially met with Chinese Islamic delegates in the Second Congress," thus realizing the policies of the Chinese Communist Party on all Muslim nationalities in China, in contrast with previous regimes' oppression of Muslims, and discrimination against them as a lower class in historical China. Every nationality in this new China, including Hui Muslims, enjoys religious freedom. Given such a liberal environment in the 1950s, more research was conducted in this period and with fruitful results. Ma Jian continued to publish his articles including the following: "The compilation and circulation of the Quran (*Gulanjing de zuanji he liuchuan* 古蘭經的纂集和流傳)," "Mohammad's holy sword (*Muhanmode de baojian* 穆罕默德的寶劍),"

“In memory of Avicenna—the light of Islam in the millennial anniversary of his birth (*Yisilan wenhua de guangmang—Jinian Aweisenna dansheng yiqian zhounian* 伊斯蘭文化的光芒—紀念阿維森納誕生一千周年),” “The influences of Islamic philosophy in European scholastic traditions (*Yisilan zhexue dui zhongshiji shiqi Ouzhou jingyuan zhexue de yingxiang* 伊斯蘭哲學對中世紀時期歐洲經院哲學的影響)” and “The old and new friendships in Sino-Arab relations (*Zhongguo yu Alabo geguo zhijian you gulao you nianqing de youyi* 中國與阿拉伯各國之間又古老又年輕的友誼),” in *Guangming Daily, People's Daily, Teaching in History* (*Lishi jiaoxue* 歷史教學), and *Chinese Muslims* (*Zhongguo Musilin* 中國穆斯林); Bai Shouyi published “Several Ahongs in the Yuan and Ming Dynasties, 1268–1661 AD,” in *Chinese Muslims*, vol. 1, 1958; Na Zhong wrote “The Yunnan Hui and Islamic cultures in the Qing Dynasties (*Qingdai Yunnan Huizuren yu yisilan wenhua* 清代雲南回族人與伊斯蘭文化)” published in *Yunnan Daily*, 14 March 1957; Lin Ganfa (林幹發) wrote “How Islam emerges? (*Yisilanjiao [Huijiao] shi zenyang chansheng de?* 伊斯蘭教[回教]是怎樣產生的?)” in *Teaching in History*, 14 March 1957; Su Beihai (蘇北海) published “The development of Islam in Xinjiang in the last millennium” (*Yiqiannian lai Yisilanjiao (Huijiao) zai Xinjiang de fazhan* 一千年來伊斯蘭教(回教)在新疆的發展)” in *Teaching in History* vol. 9, 1952; Ma Like (馬力克) “The population problems of Chinese Muslim, (*Zhongguo Msilin de renkou wenti* 中國穆斯林的人口問題)” in *Teaching in History* vol. 2, 1957. All in all, in the 1950s, there were more than one hundred journal articles written on Islam.

The continuation of publishing Islamic translations was a special feature in the 1950s. Beijing University Press published *Quran* vol. 1, translated by Ma Jian, in 1950; and his later translation, *The True Aspects of Islam* (*Huijiao zhenxiang* 回教真象), by the Commercial Press. Zhonghua Book Press, which published another translation by him, *A History of Islamic Philosophy* (*Yisilanjiao zhexue shi* 伊斯蘭教哲學史), in 1958, also published *The Lives of Pu Shougeng* (*Pu Shougeng kao* 蒲壽庚考), translated by Chen Yuqing (陳裕菁) in 1954. In 1957, Ma Anli (馬安禮) translated *Psalms of Islam* (*Tian fang shi jing* 天方詩經) published in People's Literary Press. Another book, *The Dawn of the Arabian Cultures* (*Alabo wenhua de liming shiqi* 阿拉伯文化的黎明時期), was translated by Na Zhong, and published by the Commercial Press.

In parallel to these translations in the 1950s, several texts focused on the problems of Muslims in China. Bai Shouyi edited four volumes of *The Upheavals of the Hui* (*Hui min qiyi* 回民起義) and *The History and Present Circumstances of the Huihui Ethnic Group* (*Huihui minzu de lishi he xianzhuang* 回回民族的歷史和現狀), and wrote *The Roots and New Lives of the Huihui Ethnic Group* (*Huihui minzu di xin sheng* 回回民族底新生). Similarly, Ma Shaoshi (馬霄石) wrote *A Brief History of Hui Revolutions in Northwest China*

(*Xibei Huizu geming jianshi* 西北回族革命簡史), and Lin Gan (林幹) wrote *The Hui Upheavals in the Qing Dynasty* (*Qingdai Huimin qi yi* 清代回民起義), all of which have enriched Islamic Studies.

In the 1960s, Islamic research became apparently weakened. But before 1965, some articles related to this appeared in publications. Zheng Jie (張傑), in *United Nationalities* (*Minzu tuan jie* 民族團結) Volume 4, wrote an article titled “Implementing thoroughly the Party policy of freedom for religious beliefs (*Zai Yisilanjiao zhong jin yibu guanche zhixin dang de zongjiao xinyang ziyou zhengce* 在伊斯蘭教中進一步貫徹執行黨的宗教信仰自由政策).” At a conference in Pakistan, Bai Shouyi read his conference paper titled “the historical traditions of Chinese Muslims,” that was of crucial importance at that time, and later published it in Volume 1 *Journal of Beijing Normal University* (*Beijing shifan daxue xuebao* 北京師範大學學報), 1962. Ma Jian wrote columns on “The Chinese art and its influences of ancient Islam,” in *Guangming Daily*, 22 September 1962; Ji Si (紀思), Zhang Weiji (莊為璣) and Wu Wenliang (吳文良) co-authored and published three articles, namely, “The Architecture of Phoenix Mosque in Hangzhou (*Hangzhou de yisilanjiao jianzhu Fenghuangsi* 杭州的伊斯蘭教建築鳳凰寺)” in *Cultural Artifacts* (*Wen Wu* 文物), Volume 1, 1960; “The historical problems of Mosque of Tranquility, Quanzhou—an archeological study (*Quanzhou Qingjingsi de lishi wenti—Quanzhou guji yanjiu zhiyi* 泉州清淨寺的歷史問題—泉州古跡研究之一)” in *Journal of Xiaman University* (*Xiamen Daxue xuebao* 廈門大學學報), Volume 4 1963; and “A reprisal of the architectural style of the initial construction of Mosque of Tranquility, Quanzhou (*Zai lun Quanzhou Qingjingsi de shijian shiqi he jianzhu xingshi* 再論泉州清淨寺的始建時期和建築形式)” in *Journal of Xiaman University* Volume 1, 1964.

Some historical materials were discovered, and surveys on the regions of ethnic minorities were available, in relation to Chinese Islam, in the 1960s. Founded in 1962, *Collective Editions of Historical Text in Gansu* made special editions about Chinese Islam, namely, “Lineages (門宦, Menhuan) in Gansu Islam (*Gansu yisilanjiao de menhuan* 甘肅伊斯蘭教的門宦)” in Volume 1, “The Establishment of Haiyi System in the mosque in Linxia” (*Linxia Qingzhensi haiyizhi de jianli ji qi bianqian* 臨夏清真寺海乙制的建立及變遷) Volume 2, and “Jahriyya Sufi Orders in Chinese Islam” (*Woguo yisilanjiao zhong de zheherenye menhuan* 我國伊斯蘭教中的哲赫忍耶門宦) Volume 4, together with a total of over twenty articles. Meanwhile, information about surveys on Islam in different regions was gathered and edited, for instance, “The general conditions of Tongsheng Islam” in *Surveys on Tongsheng Nationality* (*Dongxiangzu diaocha ziliao huiji* 東鄉族調查資料彙集) an article titled “The Conditions of Linxia and Lintan Islam (*Linxia, Lintan yisilanjiao qingkuang* 臨夏、臨潭伊斯蘭教

情況)” and “The Conditions of Menyuan (Lineage) Islam (*Menyuan yisilanjiao de qingkuang* 門源伊斯蘭教的情況)” were edited and published in *Surveys on Qinghai Muslims*, 1964. Almost all social-historical surveys of Muslims in China included descriptions of Islam in different places and regions.

From 1960 to 1965, fewer than fifty articles were published in any printed media. Following the period, from 1966 to 1977, the riots of the Cultural Revolution and its aftermath interrupted research on Chinese Islam and it came to a halt. There were only a few articles published in this chaotic period, such as “Mohammad and Islam” in *Education and Revolution* (*Jiaoyu geming* 教育革命) Volume 2 (Kunming Normal University, 1972), several articles in *Journal of Chinese Central Institutes for Nationalities* Volumes 2 and 3 in 1975, and Fang Siyi’s (方思一), “The historical text in Islam (*Yisilanjiao shihua* 伊斯蘭教史話)” Volume 1 in 1976 in the same journal (these articles were later edited and reprinted in one volume in Xinjiang People’s Press). The articles, however, were not free from distortion and censorship due to the political turbulence of the time. In addition to these publications, four or five other articles somewhat related to Islam were published in *Cultural Artifacts*.

Then, after the Cultural Revolution, Chinese Islamic research was resumed in 1979, the year that a strategic and nationwide academic meeting was held in Kunming to discuss research on religions in China, marking a breakthrough for Islamic research. The meeting agreed on and initiated a series of consecutive, annual, nationwide academic meetings on Islamic research to be held in the five northwest provinces in rotation. In the same year, the Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region, held the first meeting on teaching and researching Islam by formalizing proceedings and organizational logistics and this has elevated Islamic research to another level.

Previously suspended publications on Islamic research resumed after the Cultural Revolution. In 1978, Zhu Jiang (朱江) published “The causes and consequences of the eastward transmission of Islamic cultures to Yangzhou (first part) (*Yisilanjiao wenhua dongjian Yangzhou shimo* [shang] 伊斯蘭教文化東漸揚州始末[上]),” Zhi Cheng (志程) published “Epitaphs of trading Muslims and their related historical problems—a preliminary survey, ([*Fan ke mu*] *ji qi youguan wenti qiantan* [蕃客墓]及其有關問題淺談),” both of which were printed in *Marine History Survey* (*Hai jiao shi yanjiu* 海交史研究) Volume 1 (Quanzhou Marine Transport Museum, 1978); Wang Zhilai (王治來), also wrote, “The development of Islam in Xinjiang,” in *Collective Essays in Xinjiang History* (*Xinjiang lishi lunji* 新疆歷史論集). These articles were presented in earlier writings just after the Cultural Revolution. In the same year, *A Brief History of Islam* (伊斯蘭教簡史) written by Henri Masse in French, translated into Chinese by Wang Huande (王懷德) and Zhou Zhenxiang (周禎祥) and

published by the Commercial Press, marked the first translated Islamic publication in China since 1949.

The year of 1979 witnessed a growth in the number of publications on Chinese Islam with a general statistical figure of more than thirty articles published in that year in the PRC. Among these were “Uyghur and Islam (*Weiwuerzu yu yisilanjiao* 維吾爾族與伊斯蘭教)” by Yu Bao (穀苞) in *The Current Xinjiang Social Science* (*Xinjiang shehui kexue yanjiu dongtai* 新疆社會科學研究動態), “Russian Invasion in Xinjiang and Islam (*Sha’e qinlue Xinjiang yu yisilanjiao* 沙俄侵略新疆與伊斯蘭教)” by Wang Xinchuan (黃心川) in *History of Xinjiang* (*Xinjiang shixue* 新疆史學), inaugurating issue, “The Religious Revolution of Mohammad (*Muhanmode de zongjiao geming* 穆罕默德的宗教革命)” by Jin Yijiu (金宜久) in *World Religion Studies* (*Shijie zhongjiao yanjiu* 世界宗教研究) Volume 1, “China and Arabia in the medieval times (*Zhongshiji Zhongguo yu Alabo de youhao guanxi* 中世紀中國與阿拉伯的友好關係)” by Na Zhong in *Teaching History* Volume 1, and finally the special article, “Why Islam in China is called Qingzhen Jiao or Hui Jiao (*Yisilanjiao zai Zhongguo weishenme you chengwei Huijiao huo Qingzhenjiao* 伊斯蘭教在中國為什麼又稱為回教或清真教)” written by Ma Shouqian (馬壽千) was published in *Guangming Daily*, 9 October 1979, took positive effects on how Chinese looked at issues of Islam in China. In the year 1979, there were also several Chinese translations published from works of western scholars, such as *History of the Arabs* by Philip Khuri Hitti (published by the Commercial Press), *The Arabs in History* (published by the Chinese Social Science Press) by Bernard Lewis, and Wang Xinchuan together with Dai Kangsheng (戴康生) translated the Islam part of *The World’s Religions* (published by Joint Publishers Ltd).

Islamic Studies in China continued to pick up speed in the 1980s. The series of nearly annual academic meetings, as mentioned, was consecutively held in Yinchuan, 1980; Lanzhou, 1981; Xining, 1982; Xi’an, 1983; and finally Urumqi, 1986. Each of these five annual conferences invited around 600 participants from more than ten nationalities and had submissions of more than 400 papers that covered almost every aspect of Chinese Islamic studies. For instance, some of the important topics discussed included “Islam starting from the 18th century China,” at the Yinchuan conference; “the cultural exchanges and mutual influences between China and Islam,” “sects and lineages of Islam in northwestern China,” “Qing’s minority policies on Islamic Hui and Hui’s upheavals against the Qing’s Imperial Court,” and “Current of Islamic thoughts and Madrasah education” at the Lanzhou conference. Furthermore, new topics were added in subsequent conferences, like “four modernizations (suggested by Comrades Zhou Enlai and Deng Xiaoping) and Islamic research,” “historical origins of saintly descent groups in the northwest,” “Chinese Islam texts and their philosophical

thoughts,” and “Islamic communities in regional surveys,” for the Xiling conference; the Xi’an conference, alternatively, discussed topics in “Islam and its influences in the largest ten nationalities,” “the rise of different Islamic saintly descent groups and doctrines, and “the characteristics of Islamic dispersion in China.” Finally, in the Urumqi conference, participants focused upon topics in “history and development of Islamic dispersion in China, and “Sufism and northwest Islam in China: their interactions and exchanges.”

In addition, a conference on religions of China, held in July 1981, received seventeen papers related to Islamic Studies; another conference, held in August 1987, and concentrating on nationwide issues on Islam, received twenty-something papers.

These conferences spurred research and examined areas like regional varieties and patterns of Islamic dissemination, studies in saintly descent groups, Chinese Islamic thought, mosque studies, Islamic personnel, theories and practices in Islamic research, and produced fruitful results that astonished academics outside of China.

Following these conferences in the 1980s, a series of high-quality single-author books, translations, edited volumes and conference papers have been published, and some have gained a reputation in academia outside of China. Special attention was paid to the historical origins and development of different Islamic sects and lineages in China, such as Mian Weilin’s (勉維霖) *A Synopsis of Ningxia Islamic Sects* (*Ningxia Yisilan jiaopai gaiyao* 寧夏伊斯蘭教派概要) 1981, Ma Tong’s (馬通) *A Historical Outline of Sectarian Institutions in Chinese Islam* (*Zhongguo yisilan jiaopai yu menhuan zhidu shiliue* 中國伊斯蘭教派及閤宦制度史略) and *Historical Origins of Chinese Islamic Lineages* (*Zhongguo Yisilan jiaopai menhuan suyuan* 中國伊斯蘭教派門宦溯源). These three specific books displayed vast volumes of invaluable materials on the major lineages and their sub-branches in Chinese Islam in terms of their origins, emergence, development and present-day establishments, all of which are characterized by different doctrines of faith and rituals. These comparisons of the many Islamic lineages in China illustrate their history of first taking roots in northwest China as clusters of organizations having their own Islamic character. The conferences of the five provinces in northwest China produced an edited volume entitled *Essays on Qing Islam* (*Qingdai Zhongguo Yisilanjiao lunji* 清代中國伊斯蘭教論集), *Islamic Research in China* (*Zhongguo Yisilanjiao yanjiu* 中國伊斯蘭教研究), and *Research Papers on Chinese Islam* (*Zhongguo Yisilanjiao yanjiu wenji* 中國伊斯蘭教研究文集). Later on, the World Religion Research Center of the Chinese Social Science Research Institute edited and printed *Shi’a* (*Shiye Pai* 十葉派), published by Chinese Social Science Press in June 1983, which was the first and the only

systematic publication. *Mosques* (*Mantan qingzhenshi* 漫談清真寺) by Yang Yongchang (楊永昌), was also the first of its kind in China by the late 1970s. *Research Papers on Quanzhou Islam* was an edited volume about historical research on Quanzhou Islam. *Northwest Islamic Studies*, another edited volume, was a collection of twenty papers in the first half of the 1980s, where translated texts were the dominant features of printed books, such as *A Brief History of Islamic Denominations* by Evgenii Aleksandrovich Beliaev in the former Soviet Union, *A History of Islamic Peoples and States* by German scholar Carl Brockelmann, three chapters introducing the formative period, the late eighth century to the fifteenth century, and from late medieval to contemporary Islam in the second volume of *A History of Religion* by Iosif Aronovich Kryelev. The work, *Understanding Islam: An Introduction to the Moslem World* by Thomas Lippman, and *The Travel of Ibn Battuta* recorded invaluable historical materials from mid-14th century China. The translations of the *Quran* by Ma Jian and *Adab al-mufrad* by Bao Wenan (寶文安) and Maimaiti Sailai (買買提賽來) were both published by China Social Sciences Press in 1981. The Shangwu yinshuguan (商務印書館), in addition, published *Fajr al-Islam* (first volume) by Na Zhong and others. Other items such as Arabic literature and music were also included in the Chinese translation list.

After 1979, research on and compilation of original and reference materials about Chinese Islam bore fruit. These fruitful outcomes included *Selections on Research Materials in Chinese Islam, 1911–1949* (*Zhongguo Yisilan jiaoshi cankao ziliao xuanbian, 1919–1949* 中國伊斯蘭教史參考資料選編, 1911 年–1949 年) and *Selected Essays on the History of Northwest National Religions* (*Xibei minzu zongjiao shiliao wenzhai* 西北民族宗教史料文摘) that were the essential references on present-day Chinese Islamic Studies. The first volume of *Research Materials in Chinese Islam* comprises eight categories in around one million words that covers collections of Chinese newspaper columns and magazines (197 items) about Islam from 1911 to 1949. These collected items are difficult to find for the average readers and are most exhaustive and thus invaluable among others collections of the same kind. The second volume, comprised of seven different book volumes, in around two million words, produced a collection of materials related to national religions in the format of essays that is an important set of research materials for Chinese Islam. In the “Gansu” volume, for instance, over fifty essays offer direct descriptions of Islam in ninety thousand words.

In the 1980s, *Chinese Muslims* (*Zhongguo Musilin* 中國穆斯林), *Studies in the World Religions*, *Information on the World Religions* (*Shijie zongjiao ziliao* 世界宗教資料), *Ningxia Social Science* (*Ningxia shehui kexue* 寧夏社會科學), with the supplements from *Information on Lingxia Social Science* (*Ningxia shehui*

kexue tongxun 寧夏社會科學通訊), *Gansu Nationality Studies* (*Gansu minzu yanjiu* 甘肅民族研究), *The Arab World* (*Alabo shijie* 阿拉伯世界), *Journal of Qinghai Institutes of Nationality* (*Qinghai Minyuan xuebao* 青海民院學報), and *Xinjiang Social Science* (*Xinjiang shehui kexue* 新疆社會科學) published numerous articles on Chinese Islam.

In 1990s, due to more international conferences on Islam held in China, Chinese Islamic Studies became more rigorous in terms of research outcomes. In October 1991, an international conference on “Islam and the Modernization of the northwest China,” was held in Xi’an; “The Marine Silk Road and Islam,” held in February 1994, Quanzhou; “The First Conference on Islamic History and Culture,” held in October 1998, Yinchuan. Representatives from more than ten countries submitted more than eighty papers in three conferences.

In the meantime, conferences organized by bodies in the PRC have extended previous conference geographical boundaries since the 1990s; in September 1990, the second conference on “Chinese Islamic history” was held in Beijing. In October of the same year, a nationwide conference on “Chinese Islam” was held again in Beijing. In October 1991, a nationwide conference on “Islamic cultures and Chinese academics” was held in Jinan, Shandong. In June 1995, a conference on “the Islamic Revelation Movement,” was organized in the City of Ma’anshan, Anhui; another conference, held in October 1996 about “Islam-Arab philosophy, went back to Jinan, Shandong. All these conferences collected nearly 150 papers and openly published them in *Collected Essays on Islamic Cultures* (*Yisilan wenhua luncong* 伊斯蘭文化論叢) and *Studies in Islamic Cultures* (*Yisilan wenhua yanjiu* 伊斯蘭文化研究), and further printed *The Third Xi’an Conference on Islamic Cultures* (*Disanjie Xian Yisilan wenhua yantaohui lunwen huibia* 第三屆西安伊斯蘭文化研討會論文彙編). Besides, from 1983 to the present, there were altogether twelve nationwide conferences on the subject of “Islamic history,” and one of the main themes was Chinese Islam, which prompted a collection of a significant portion of the conference papers compared to other themes. In comparison with conference papers of the 1980s in the range of topics and coverage, the papers of the 1990s were richer in content and they adhered to higher academic standards. The number and frequency of conferences organized in the 1990s was greater, than in the 1980s, and this has contributed to the flourishing of Chinese Islamic Studies.

Chinese Islamic Studies have also reaped the yields of improved research standards compared to those found in the 1980s. Many gaps have been filled with some very specific research works, series and volumes. Over 100 items of Islamic research published in 1990 have caught the attention of academics and average readers alike: some volumes with a central theme on Islamic knowledge systems also include knowledge of the subjects related to Islamic cultures,

which are categorized in 'World Islam' and 'Chinese Islam' in a collectible list of 3,360 items found in *An Encyclopedia of Chinese Islam* (*Zhongguo Yisilan baike quanshu* 中國伊斯蘭百科全書). Furthermore, the first part of *A History of Chinese Islam* (*Zhongguo Yisilanjiao shi* 中國伊斯蘭教史) covers complete descriptions of how Islam has been disseminated based upon Muslim history as the main storyline, and *Islam and Chinese Cultures* (*Yisilan yu Zhongguo wenhua* 伊斯蘭與中國文化) makes a systematic inquiry of the historical origins between Islam and Chinese cultures. *Chinese Ancient Regimes and Islam* (*Zhongguo lidai zhengquan yu Yisilanjiao* 中國歷代政權與伊斯蘭教) analyzes the political relations between China and Islam within the periods of the Tang Dynasty and the Kuomintang after the 1911 Revolution. Particular attention in this book has been paid to the examination of security issues in northwest China and the effectiveness of how Ming and Qing governments dealt with Muslim relations in the area. Several comprehensive works on Islam and its institutions have been published, like *An Introduction to Chinese Islamic Institutions* (*Zhongguo Huizu Yisilan zongjiao zhidu gailun* 中國回族伊斯蘭宗教制度概論), *Studies in Chinese Islamic Traditions* (*Zhongguo Yisilan quantong wenhua yanjiu* 中國伊斯蘭傳統文化研究), two versions of *Chinese Islam* (*Zhongguo de Yisilanjiao* 中國的伊斯蘭教), *Studies in Hui Islam* (*Huizu Yisilanjiao yanjiu* 回族伊斯蘭教研究), *One Hundred Q&As in Islam* (*Yisilanjiao baiwen* 伊斯蘭教百問), and *The Book Series on Islamic Cultures* (*Yisilan wenhua congshu xilie* 伊斯蘭文化叢書系列). These books and series have been popular in introducing general knowledge of Islam.

Books on special topics of Islam include: *An Introduction to Islamic Law* (*Yisilan jiaofa gailue* 伊斯蘭教法概略), *Population in Chinese Muslims* (*Zhongguo Musilin renkou* 中國穆斯林人口), *The Philosophical Thoughts of the Quran* (*Gulanjing zhexue sixiang* 古蘭經哲學思想), *The Living Habitats of Chinese Muslims* (*Zhongguo Musilin jumin wenhua* 中國穆斯林民居文化), *Chinese Mosques: An Overview* (*Zhongguo qingzhensizonglan* 中國清真寺綜覽), *Hajj Pilgrimage of Chinese Muslims* (*Zhongguo musilin chaojin jishi* 中國穆斯林朝覲紀實), *Categories and Characters of Chinese Muslims* (*Zhongguo Yisilan wenhua leixing yu minzu tese* 中國伊斯蘭文化類型與民族特色), *Chinese Islamic Cultures* (*Zhongguo Yisilan wenhua* 中國伊斯蘭文化), *New Perspectives on Islamic Cultures* (*Yisilan wenhua xinlun* 伊斯蘭文化新論) and *The Art of Arab Cultures* (*Alabo wenhua yishu* 阿拉伯文化藝術). These books update and explore new areas of Islamic research.

Works on World Islam were enlisted in a remarkable collection. Na Zhong's *A History of Arabia* (*Alabo tongshi* 阿拉伯通史) was the first book to research all aspect of Arabia for a Chinese audience; Jin Yijiu's *A History of Islam* (*Yisilan jiaoshi* 伊斯蘭教史), *Contemporary Islam* (*Dangdai Yisilanjiao* 當代伊

斯蘭教) and *Islam and the World Politics* (*Yisilanjiao yu shijie zhengzhi* 伊斯蘭教與世界政治) are works covering all aspects of Islam around the world. Other books like *Islam and the Modernization of the Middle East* (*Yisilanjiao yu Zhongdong xiandaihua jincheng* 伊斯蘭教與中東現代化進程), *Essays on Islamic Revival Movements* (*Yisilan fuxing yundong lunji* 伊斯蘭復興運動論集), and *Contemporary Islamic Thoughts* (*Jindai Yisilan shichao* 近代伊斯蘭思潮) assess the emergence of modern Islam and its multifaceted phenomena in different countries. Furthermore, Arabic-Islamic thought become a branch of Islamic Studies and the published books related to this branch include *A History of Islamic Thought* (*Yisilan zhhexueshi* 伊斯蘭哲學史), *Near Modern or Modern Philosophy in the Arab World* (*Alabo jinxiandai zhexue* 阿拉伯近現代哲學), *Arabic Philosophy* (*Alabo zhexue* 阿拉伯哲學) and *A History of Arabic Philosophy* (*Alabo zhhexueshi* 阿拉伯哲學史).

Recently, attention has been given to the history of Chinese Islamic regions and publications representing this are *Basic Characteristics of Northwest Chinese Islam* (*Zhongguo xibei Yisilanjiao de jiben tezheng* 中國西北伊斯蘭教的基本特徵), *Northwest Muslim Societies: Research and Problems* (*Xibei Musilin shehui wenti yanjiu* 西北穆斯林社會問題研究), *Northwest Hui and Islam* (*Xibei Huizu Yisilanjiao* 西北回族伊斯蘭教), *A History of Xinjiang Islam* (*Xinjiang Yisilanjiao shi* 新疆伊斯蘭教史), *A Brief History of the Xinjiang Hui Community* (*Xinjian Huizu Yisilanjiao shiliue* 新疆回族伊斯蘭教史略) and *Ningxia Hui Community and Islam* (*Ningxia Huizu yu Yisilanjiao* 寧夏回族與伊斯蘭教).

Information indexing and archiving publications on Chinese Islam is a topic of substantial academic attention. *A General Index of Chinese Islamic Publications and Translations* (*Zhongguo Yisilan wenxian zhuyi tiyao* 中國伊斯蘭文獻著譯提要) was compiled from materials since the Tang Dynasty to 1992, whose list includes Islamic scriptures in 578 books, and over 160 recommended reference books. *The Series of Chinese Hui Classics* (*Zhongguo Huizu dianji congshu* 中國回族典籍叢書), alternatively, offers a collection of 20 items of translated texts from Hui Islamic scriptures published in the Ming and Qing Dynasties, and monographed magazines like *Islam* and *Yuehua*, edited and published by Lingxia Ancient Script Processing and Publishing Project Group. Similar organizations processing and archiving ancient Islamic scriptures in Yunnan, Qinghai and Gansu have also published similar works.

Foreign and Taiwanese presses have recently produced works about Chinese Islam. The first one, *Muslim Chinese*, was written by the American scholar Dru Gladney; Jonathan Lipman also wrote on the same subject of Muslims in north-west China. Many conference papers about Chinese Islam were presented, for instance, in an international conference held in Holland 1995 and titled "Sufism and its Opponents," scholars from the US, France and Japan submitted papers

with titles like “Islam and the Great Qing Legal Codes in 18th and 19th centuries,” “Anti-mysticism in 18th and 19th century Islamic literatures in China,” “Islamic Reformism and Sufism in 19th century Xinjiang, China,” “Chinese Wahhabi—Yiheiwani Opponents of Salafism in the Kuomintang period, 1911–1949,” and “Critics of Islamic mysticism in post-revolutionary China.” Since the 1990s, books on Islam produced in the Kuomintang period (1912–1949) were re-published in Taiwan. Examples are *A Study on Chinese Islamic History* (*Zhongguo Huijiao Shi Yanjiu* 中國回教史研究) by Jin Jitang, *Chinese Islamic History* (*Zhongguo huijiao shi* 中國回教史) by Fu Quanxin, and Ma Yiyu’s *An Introduction to Islam* (*Yisilan Jiao gailun* 伊斯蘭教概論). Furthermore, special topics were addressed in books and conference papers, for example, “A Study on Egyptian Muslim Brotherhood” and “Chinese Islamic Lineage System (*menhuan*): Their ethnical contents and meanings”. In sum, Islamic Studies in China has gradually gained more attention from outside China.

By the 1990s, Chinese Islamic Studies had spun off a number of interdisciplinary subjects and research in different directions of scholarship like archival studies, regional studies, population studies, literature and philosophy, religious studies, and so on, and thereby extended its scope of influence outside China. We suggest, and reasonably believe, based upon this build-up and development of Chinese Islamic Studies, as described throughout this chapter, that the 21st century offers new challenges and a time for breakthroughs.

From the first century to the 21st, Chinese Islamic Studies have undergone a transformation from a personal, behavioral perspective of cultural transmission of Islam to a subject of national, social-scientific studies catching much academic attention. Throughout its development, Chinese Islamic Studies remains a self-revitalizing subject that is kept abreast with social progress.

Section 2



A Primary Investigation of the History of the Hui People and the Historical Data of Islam Recorded in the Notes Written by Zhou Mi

Ma Shinian

Abstract

This chapter focuses on the writings of Zhou Mi (周密), which systematically recount the history of the Hui nationality and Islam in China. Through interpretation of historical terms like *Huihui* (回回), The Sands of Huihui (*Huihui shazi* 回回沙磧), *Huihui* nation (*Huihui guo* 回回國), Small *Huihui* nation (*xiao Huihui guo* 小回回國), and *Huihui* in the south (*nanfan Huihui* 南蕃回回), these terms are put in the context of official historical records and the validation of historical facts, both of which describe the origins and formative years of the Hui. Based upon the writings of Zhou, the author traces general information about “Huihui” in terms of customs, religious rituals, and the historical and geographical distribution of “Huihui,” all of which concur with the descriptions of other reliable texts.

Keywords

Zhou Mi's Historical Writings – Hui Nationality – Islam

Zhou Mi (周密, 1232–1298 AD),¹ alias Gongjin (公謹), was born in Jinan (now near Licheng county of Shandong province). As the declining Song Emperor

* This article was originally published in *Studies in Chinese Islam* (*Zhongguo Yisilan yanjiu* 中國伊斯蘭教研究) (Xining: Qinghai renmin chubanshe, 1987).

1 According to: Lu Kanru (陸侃如) and Feng Yunjun (馮阮君), *Chinese Poems and Poets* (*Zhongguo shishi* 中國詩史) (Shanghai: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1939); Liang Tingcan (梁廷燦), *Lists of Births and Deaths of Chinese Historical Figures* (*Lidai mingren shengzu nianbiao* 歷代名人生卒年表) (Shanghai: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1930). Zhou Mi was born in 1232 and died in 1308 AD *Literati in the Tang and Song Dynasties* (*Tang Song ciren nianpu* 唐宋詞人年譜) (Shanghai: Shanghai gudian wenxue chubanshe, 1955) written by Xia

moved South, Zhou Mi's great grandfather also moved South, crossing the Yangzi River and settling in Wuhing (also called Huzhou [湖州]) in Zhejiang. Zhou named himself "the inhabitant of Huzhou (*Huren* 湖人)" after the demise of Southern Song, Zhou re-settled in various locations in Hangzhou, and finally lived with his friend, surnamed Yue (岳), and his wife (née Yang 楊). At the time, Zhou was known as a talented scholar, adept at composing poems and lyrics, and he became a prolific writer, writing many books mainly in the form of the *biji* (notebook or commonplace book). These included *Miscellaneous News from Guixin* (*Guixin zashi* 癸辛雜識), essays on his contemporaries and life at the Song court, *Former Events in Wulin* (*Wulin jiushi* 武林舊事), *Rustic talks from the East of Qi* (*Qidong yeyu* 齊東野語), notes and anecdotes on the history of the Song dynasty, *Haoran zhaizhi tingchao* (浩然齋視聽抄), *Random Jottings from the Hall of Elegant Intent* (*Zhiyatang zachao* 志雅堂雜鈔), *Records of Clouds and Mist Passing Before Ones' Eyes* (*Yunyan guoyanlu* 雲眼過眼錄), a catalogue of the contents of private art collections. In his prolific writings, several recorded information about Hui and Islamic histories. These pieces have contributed significantly to the development and dissemination of Islam in Chinese Hui communities. In what follows, this chapter goes a step further from describing Zhou's writing, to analyzing how such writings explore and portray Muslim lives during his time and in relation to what is found in other archival sources.

1

The prolific writings of Zhou Mi have recorded many historical aspects of Hui (Chinese Muslims) in terms of their origins, living habitats, customs, and the formation and development of the historical Hui nationality and associated terms such as "Huihui," "Huihui Sha Ji," "Huihui nation," "small Hui nation," and "Huihui of the south," etc. What do these terms mean? Before going through each of them individually, I begin with a discussion of the term "Huihui" by using various historical sources.

Chengtao (夏承燾) states, "My father (now-deceased) reported to his native county as a Magistrate"; in *Personal Notebook of Song Anecdotes*, Xia wrote, "In 1231, my now-deceased father, as I recall, received the imperial decree from the capital and went back to Fu Chun to fulfill his duties as a county magistrate. He arrived at the county in the ninth lunar month of the year. The next year I was born in a house of the county." Zhou's death, Xia added, was traced back to the time where "Zhou's *Personal Notebooks* ended in the seventh lunar month of 1298.

Hui is a short form of “the Huihui community” (*Huihui Minzu* 回回民族). It also refers to the Chinese Muslim community. According to various historical records (including Zhou’s writings) and cross-referencing the timeline of Hui origins in China, it is clearly understood that the term “Huihui” appeared before the formation of Hui communities. This newly founded community, due to historical factors, was named a special race or ethnicity. The first appearance of the term “Huihui” was found in the fifth volume of the *Dream Pool Essays* (*Mengxi bitan* 夢溪筆談), written by the great Song scientist Shen Kuo (沈括) (1031–1095 AD), in which one of his five victory songs (*kaige* 凱歌) read, “The Song army flies its banners, in blossoms of red. The armor of the generals’ guards (*Bei Wei* (背嵬)² shines silver, and they crush the Huihui in quicksilver; the Hexi (河西) (Western Xia) was pacified first; riding warhorses to the riverside (of the Yellow River) to quench their thirst.” Shen, who was an official serving the general-governor of an annexed or subordinated territory (*Jinglueshi* 經略使) of Fuyan (鄜延) composed these victory songs in 1080–1081 AD to boost the morale of the Song in their defeat of the Western Xia’s (西夏) army. In general, the term “Huihui” in Shen’s song refers to the Uyghurs who inhabited the region west of the Yellow River, to the mountainous corridors north and south, all the way to Mt. Tian Shan in western Xinjiang. By the early 11th Century AD, Emperor Taizong (西夏太宗) of Western Xia and his son, Prince Yunhao (元昊), later Emperor Jingzong (西夏景宗), taking advantage of peaceful relations with the Song, expanded their territory to the west, as described by a poem: “heading north, loot the best Tibetan horses; heading south, capture the best Uyghur armies.”³ Western Xia armies took Ganzhou and Liangzhou from 1028–1032 AD, and then Dunhuang in 1035. All Uyghurs surrendered to the Western Xia and a corridor was subsequently cut from Xinjiang to Central Eurasia. In defeating Western Xia, Shen Kuo was reminiscent of the great times of Han and Tang dynasties, whose regimes extended to the northwest regions of Central Eurasia, Xinjiang and the western corridor

2 The term *Bei Wei* (背嵬) denotes a group of guards. Zhao Yanwei (趙彥衛), *Essay in Clouds and Ridges* (*yun lu man chao* 雲麓漫鈔) (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1985) wrote “Famous generals like Han Shizong (韓世忠) and Yue Fei (岳飛) placed and deployed their close guards, called *Bei Wei*, which means “stone backs”. They were incomparably strong and brave.” Cheng Daichang (程大昌), *Chores in Song Dynasty* (*Yanfanglu* 演繁露) (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1991), roll 9, under the heading of *Bei Wei*, explained, “Shen Kuo (沈括), in *Dream Pool Essays* (*Mengxi bitan* 夢溪筆談) composed a victory song, sung loudly in the wind and shocking nearby houses with echoes, with the words, “*Bei Wei* shines their silver armor, and crushes the Huihui with quicksilver.” *Bei Wei* means those close guards standing around their general’s tent.

3 Alutu (脫脫) et al., *History of Song* (*Songshi* 宋史) (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1977), roll 490.

starting from the Yellow River. After the defeat, the corridor was reopened for merchants and trade, and Shen, in his victorious spirit, wrote the last two lines of the lyrics, “Hexi was pacified first; riding warhorses to the riverside for quenching thirst.”⁴ Why does “Huihui” supposedly refer to the Uyghurs inhabiting the area alongside the Hexi corridor and the hillside of Tian Shan? According to Cen Zhongmian (岑仲勉), who wrote about the Uyghurs, “the word “Uyghur” is pronounced in Khotanese as *hve:hvu:ra*; the first two syllables being similar to “Huihui” in Mandarin. Volume 2 of *Research on Geography of China and Foreign Lands* (*Zhongwai shidi kaozheng* 中外史地考證), also written by Cen, mentions “the linguistic origins of Huihui,”⁵ which was described by Hong Jun (洪鈞): “... the first appearance of the term “Huihui” (回回) was found in *History of the Liao* (*Liaoshi* 遼史), (916–1125 AD) and used together with the term “Uyghur” (回鶻). But according to *History of the Yuan* (*Yuanshi* 元史) the two terms, “Huihui” and “Uyghur” are interchangeable; their vowels are modified and intonations shortened or prolonged as a results of different pragmatic interpretations when uttering the same words.” Cen, according to Hong’s words, therefore deduced that “it’s quite safe to assume that *Huihui* is a mutated form of “Uyghur” in terms of intonation.” In support of the evidence

- 4 Anxi (安西), a prefecture of the Hexi Corridor under the governance of Tang was established 640 AD and located at Xizhou (now in southeast Turfan, Xinjiang), a Chinese outpost for The Protectorate General to Pacify the West to control the regions of Tianshan, the Pamir Mountains and the Tarim Basin. The governing center was later moved to Kucha or Kuche (龜茲), now in Aksu Prefecture, Xinjiang) Anxi Prefecture also took governance of four other prefectures, namely, Kuche, Khotan (于闐), Shule (疏勒), Suyab (碎葉), as well as the prefectures of West Pamir. What Shen referred to the Road of Anxi was the Hexi Corridor to the north of Mt. Tian Shan.
- 5 Cen Zhongmian, *Research on Geography of China and Foreign Lands* (*Zhongwai shidi kaozheng* 中外史地考證) (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1982). In greater detail, the origins of the term “Huihui” in Cen’s descriptions are cross-referenced to “recent research on Khotanese referring to the Uyghur were written in the forms of *Hvaihu:ra*, *Hvaihura*, *Hve:hu:ra* or *Hvehva:ra*,” in: Harold W. Bailey, “Turks in Khotanese Text,” *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Studies* 71, no. 1 (Jan 1939): 87. By omitting the last consonants of these Khotanese words, these words are pronounced in turn as *hvaihu*, *hve hvu* or *hve hva*. This pidgin development, or creolizing of the Khotanese pronunciation of “Uyghur” in different locales adopts the vowels of a native language by matching them with those with similar utterance, thus making vowel harmony of it, for instance, *ghuai* in Uyghur, and *khuei* in mandarin. Based upon the deduction of these creolized pronounciations, the term “Huihui” was a result of such series of creolizations first from Khotanese, and then from Uyghur, in the 9th Century in Central Eurasia, which is three centuries earlier than the rise of Liao. The native languages at the north circuit of Tian Shan inherited the term used for Uyghur as it was originally pronounced starting in the Tang Dynasty, not “Huihui.”

on the linguistic similarity of *Huihui* and “Uyghur,” Cen further made reference to Khotanese in the 9th Century AD about the written syllables and pronunciations of “Uyghur,” and confirmed that “‘Huihui’ originated from the native language in the south circuit of Tian Shan,” with which I agree. Generally, folklore and native languages usually disseminate quickly, and I confirmed that the term “Huihui” had been circulated and used in the Hexi Corridor for a long time before Shen Kuo adopted it. Just before the end of the Song Dynasty, “Huihui” appeared more frequently in Chinese and foreign historical texts, and new denotations had been attached to this term.

In chapter 30 of *History of the Liao*, depicting the extinction of the Liao Empire, Yelü Dashi (耶律大石) led his army westward, and said, “I stationed my army at Asmara,⁶ and after ninety days, the King of *Huihui* came and surrendered.”⁷ Chapter 69 of the same volume, “The Pedigrees of the Clans”, reads, “Yelü Dashi led his army heading west and proclaimed himself as King of the Kara-Khitan Khanate (Western Liao) and the clans he encountered are as listed below.” The recorded clans are more than twenty and include the Tajik *Huihui* clan. Tianzuo started his western journey in 1124 AD, stationed his army in Asmara in approximately 1132 AD, and then proclaimed himself as King in 1134 AD, which is a half-century after Shen Kuo wrote his lyrics about “Huihui.” Up until this time, “Huihui” had appeared and was used for a number of nations or clans in Central Eurasia. To further explore such a phenomenon, it is reasonable to trace history back to Central Asia in the early 8th Century AD, by which time the Umayyad Caliphate⁸ led armies and defeated Turks in Kabul (now the capital of Afghanistan) and occupied adjacent areas of Samarkand. Then the eastern expansion of the Umayyad Caliphate reached the borders of Tang. The caliphate was a religious-aristocratic monarchy, and its subjects became Islamic believers. By the 9th Century AD, the Abbasids, the successors to the Umayyad Caliphate, had declined, and the whole Arab Empire then crumbled into numerous nations founded by clans of Persians and Turks.

6 Asmara: Samarkand, now the second-largest city in Uzbekistan and the capital of Samarqand Province.

7 The King of *Huihui*: In the context, it refers to the King of Chorasmia, which was called as “Huihui” in the Yuan Dynasty.

8 Umayyad Caliphate: Ali, the fourth elected caliph after Muḥammad’s death, was assassinated in the Great Mosque of Kufah in January 661 AD. The federal lords in Syria elected a family member of the third elected caliph, Yazid ibn Mu awiyah, who set the capital in Damascus and started the federal system called the Umayyad Dynasty (661–750 AD). The national flag of Umayyad was plain white, and so Chinese historians named Umayyad caliphates as “white-robed Tajiks (*baiyi dachi* 白衣大食).”

These nations were the protectorates of the Caliphs⁹ of the Abbasids,¹⁰ but de facto they ruled in their own lands without a political center. Between 874 and 999 AD, The Persian Samanid Dynasty, with its largest population of believers in Islam, subordinated these nations by building its capital in Bukhara.¹¹ Meanwhile, starting from 790 AD onwards, the Uyghur Empire experienced several internal unrests, and was finally exterminated by the Kyrgyz in 840 AD, leaving behind three surviving branches of Uyghur. One of the three moved and settled at the Chu River to the west of the Pamir Plateau, living with Turks known as the West Pamir Uyghurs. Around 960 AD, these immigrating Uyghur were converted to Islam, co-founded Kara-Khanids together with Turks, and built their capital in Bukhara. The combined forces further pressed eastwards to Kashgar, Xinjiang and took it as the second capital. In 1005 Kara-Khanids seized Khotan (now Hotan, Xinjiang), advanced westwards and exterminated the Samanids. However, in 1128, Western Liao took most of the Kara-Khanids' lands, and the Kara-Khanids came to an end in 1213, the year that they were finally eliminated by Chorasmia. From 9th to 13th Centuries, Arabs, Persians, and Turks held sway in Central Asia. Uyghurs conquered lands from the Hexi Corridor to the ridges of Tian Shan, simultaneously pressing to their ultimate western frontiers at the Dead Sea. All of these nations in turn played their historical roles as conquerors of Central Eurasia. Afterwards, the Khitan found the Kara-Khitan Khanate, or Western Liao; the Turks founded Chorasmia, making themselves the heroes of Central Eurasia. Using the dissemination and development of Islam as a guide, the periods and activities concerning the history of Central Eurasia, after being analyzed, are summarized below. First, after coming into Central Eurasia, the Arabs converted the inhabitants of the lands they ruled to Islam. After the mid-9th Century AD, the Arab Caliphates declined in Central Eurasia where the Samanid Dynasty rose and let Islam continue to disseminate as a unified religion. Second, in the 9th Century AD, the Uyghurs settling in the West Pamirs were converted to Islam co-founded the Kara-Khanid Khanate with Muslim Turks, exterminated Samanids and

9 Caliph (*khalifa* in the Arabic) means the successor representing the religious-political unity of Muslim Ummah at the will of Mohammad, and a head of the state.

10 The Abbasids, descending from Abbas b. Abd al-Muttalib (566–662 AD), one of the youngest uncles of Muhammad, launched their uprisings, overthrew the Umayyad Caliphate and founded their Dynasty (750–1258 AD). The first caliph, Abu'l- Abbas al- Saffah, built the Abbasids capital in Harran; the second caliph, Al-Mansur, however, shifted the capital to Baghdad. The national flag of the Abbasids was black, and Chinese historians named them as “black-robed Tajiks (*heiyi dachi* 黑衣大食).”

11 Bukhara: now at the southeastern part of Uzbekistan.

Khotan in 10th and 11th Centuries respectively, and brought Islam to the southwest Xinjiang. Third, the rise of Western Liao (1124–1211 AD) expanded its territories to Central Eurasia and devoured a large part of the lands of the Kara-Khanids. Though the Khitan, the rulers of Western Liao were Buddhist, they never rejected Islam. However, in 1211, The Western Liao was usurped by Kuchlug, who thereafter ordered all inhabitants, including Muslims, to believe in Buddhism; he was later killed by Genghis Khan in 1218. Kuchlug's attempts at religious conversion never uprooted the Islamic forces in the Western Liao lands. Fourth, the lands of the Kara-Khanids were largely occupied and wholly preserved by Western Liao until 1213 AD, until they were eventually eliminated by Chorasmia. The Kara-Khanids moved westwards to the Dead Sea and eastwards to south Xinjiang starting from the mid-10th Century to the early 13th Century AD. It is widely accepted among researchers of Central Asian history that Uyghurs were vitally important to the Kara-Khanids.

Given the time and space where Kara-Khanids lived, Islam influenced Uyghur culture, as substantiated by two significant historical facts: from the late 9th to the early 13th Centuries, Islam continued its religious influences on south Xinjiang, basically unchanged and uninterrupted, disregarding the replacements of rulers and empires; the other fact is related to West Padir Uyghurs. The confederacy of the Kara-Khanids played their historical roles in Central Eurasia and Xinjiang for almost three centuries and exerted their influences on these areas politically, religiously and cross-culturally, thereby promoting trade and cultural integration with northwest China. The fact that Uyghurs migrated from northwest China to Central Eurasia, despite their lifelong presence in foreign lands, did not divest them of their national sentiments and their leaders were no exception. This is further elaborated in "The development of Islam in Xinjiang (*Lun Yisilanjiao zai Xinjiang de fazhan* 論伊斯蘭教在新疆的發展)" by Wang Zhilai (王治來), which states, "Kara-Khanids, once upon a time, minted coins with their leaders' names." From 1067 AD onwards, the names of kings and leaders were commonly found on coins, for instance, Tang Ka-Khikhan¹² Ibrahim proclaimed himself as "the King of the East and China;" his son, Tang Ka-Khikhan Nasr, "the Sultan of the East and China." Meanwhile, Uyghurs in Gaochang (高昌) and Hexi differed from Uyghurs settling in West Pamir, who shared the same Islamic beliefs with Arabs, Persians, and Turks. Given this mixed ethnic population during the

12 Tang Ka-Khikhan refers to the Chinese Emperor with reference of the Tang Dynasty. Tang Ka-Khi is an ancient transliteration of Tang Jia-zhi (唐家子) in Mandarin, meaning the sons or heirs of the family or clan of Tang; Tang Ka-Khikhan was the heir of Tang, or the Emperor of China.

9th through 12th Centuries AD, the creolization of “Huihui” from Khotanese was then widely used in all tribes and races believing in Islam, and become the origins of “Huihui Tajiks,” “Huihui nations” and other related words. Similarly, Song people used “Tajiks (*dashi* 大食)” as a common term to describe Muslims or their nations in Asia and Africa. Zhou Qufei (周去非), who completed *A Geographical Encyclopedia at the Outskirts of the Pamirs* (*Lingwai daida* 嶺外代答) in 1178 AD, made reference to “the countries of Tajiks” in Volume 3 by describing them as “a collective of thousands of city-states and nations, but only a few of them had been named and known.” He added, “Among these big and small countries, only a few famous ones were located at Mecca in Saudi Arabia, Cairo in Egypt, Basra in Iraq, Zanzibar in Tanzania, and the Berbers in Somalia, etc.” Those Muslims who were Tajiks or from Southeast Asia and entered China by sail and departed through the southeast coasts were generally called “Nanfan Huihui,” although the ethnic term of “Huihui” had been disseminated in coastal regions like Jiangsu and Fujian from the Central Plains. Why were “Huihui” further diffused in the Middle Kingdom? One possible explanation is that given their blood ties with Gaochang Uyghurs and trading ties and diplomatic relations with Song, Liao, Jin and Xia, Uyghurs (in Central Eurasia) played their roles as guides and middlemen, as extensively recorded in different historical texts. Zhang Shunmin (張舜民), in his essay “The Epitaph of General You Shixiong (*You shixiong mu zhiming* 游師雄墓誌銘)” in the Epilogue of *Hua man ji*, wrote, “After the Xiyu city states (*Xibi* 西鄙) had invaded Siu Prefecture, many ambassadors of these tributary states from Khotan and the lands of the Tajiks, Byzantines and Miaoli (遼黎) both continuously and frequently paid their tributes to the Imperial Court. Under such historical circumstances, the term “Huihui” circulated throughout the Middle Kingdom, thus even appearing in Shen Kuo’s victory song in 1180s AD.

In a nutshell, “Huihui” originated from native Khotanese and it was used to address the Uyghurs, then circulated among the Kara-Khanids to southwest Xinjiang. The term “Huihui” also circulated to Central Eurasia and, in the 11th Century, it was popularised in China as trade and diplomacy with Uyghur and Tajiks intensified.

2

“Huihui” was frequently used after the Northern Song and disseminated from Xinjiang to the Middle Kingdom. It appeared more frequently in official historical records, as well as essays composed by individual literati. The term denoted quite a number of meanings including a nation, a state, a race or tribe, a place in the northwest border, a group of Muslims, and even a newly

formed Muslim community or its individual members. In his prolific writings, Zhou Mi denoted quite a number of different meanings of “Huihui” and used them clearly in different contexts. *The Sands of Huihui* (Huihui Shazi 回回沙磧), sequel of *Miscellaneous Thoughts in the Guixin Year* (*Guixin zazhi* 癸辛雜識), both written by Zhou Mi, is an example of this:

The pass to the “Huihui” nation crosses through a desert thousands of miles long and without any plants. The dusty gales blind our eyes, requiring almost a month to cross the pass. To feed a camel on this journey, a rider puts a large piece of meat cooked with salt and flour into the mouth of the camel, and ties the meat with a string so that the camel does not swallow it, but only holds and wets it in its mouth to sustain life. Travelers usually make dried bread; hang wooden bottles filled with water from their belts, a wagon fully loaded with goat-skin bags of water is towed. On each day of the journey across the desert pass, the travelers eat very briefly and wet their mouths without too much consumption of food and water. In case of losing their direction, travelers acclimatise to drinking their urine and eating horse faeces. Even the native Huihui people think crossing the desert is a Herculean task. Now Huihui have settled at the southern Yangzi River as their second home, and they never return.

The above quote mentions one of the important origins and affirms the formation of Huihui. According to the translator’s annotation No. 22 in the Chinese version of *History of Western Liao* (西遼史) written by Bretschneider and translated by Liang Tuandong (梁團東), “The King of Huihui here refers to the King of Chorasmia; Huihui nation was the other name of Chorasmia in Mongol as common usage.” The linguistic origin of “Huihui,” as aforementioned, came from the term for Uyghur in Khotanese, was popularized in Central Eurasia before 1219, the year Genghis Khan began to conquer Chorasmia, and Mongols then followed this convention. However, calling Chorasmia “Huihui” has its historical origin, which dates back to the time of the Kara-Khanids who were once the rulers of southwest Xinjiang. Uyghurs were the pillars of Kara-Khanids with the largest territories pressing westward to Transoxiana and eastward to Khotan, and they exerted political, economic and religious influences for almost three centuries. The Khotanese creolization of “Huihui” then became popularized when the term was used to address the general population of Muslims. In the heyday of the Kara-Khanid Khanate, its territories stretched from the Syr Darya River in the north to the Persian Gulf in the South; from Iraq in the west to the Indian River in the East. Before being conquered by the Mongolians in the 13th century, Kara-Khanids, most of whom believed in Islam, remained in northwest Xinjiang, and so it is no

surprise that this nation, having a large population of mostly Muslims, was called *Huihui Guo* (回回國).

So, what did Zhou mean by stating, “The desert pass to Huihui was merely sand dunes thousands of miles long”? My preliminary judgment is that when passing from Central Eurasia to the north corridor edging the Kunlun Mountains travelers would pass the edge of the Taklamakan Desert. In 1271 AD, Marco Polo touched upon this edge when travelling to China. He crossed the Pamirs, passing over the north ridge of Kunlun Mountains and the Tarim Basin to the nearby areas of Lop Nur, and then travelled to Karakorum—the Yuan capital—via Dunhuang and Ganzhou. In his *Journey to the East*, he says, “Lop Nur is a big city, close to the borders of the desert . . . as mentioned, travelers who plan to cross the desert should take week’s rest for quenching the thirst of both human and beasts. They have to collect water and forage, more than enough, before continuing their desert journeys.” Marco Polo adds, “A traveler takes over one year attempting to cross it; even the narrowest pass takes a month’s voyage.” By comparing the travelogues written by Marco Polo and Zhou Mi, the locations and time for travel recorded in both are found to be consistent, and what their writings are related to the southern route of the Silk Road¹³ on which Arabs, Persians, and other Central Eurasians traded and engaged in diplomacy with the Song people in China. Owing to the occupation of the Western Xia blocking the Hexi Corridor in the 11th Century AD, travellers from Central Eurasia going to the Middle Kingdom did not wish a detour, which would mean an excessively long journey, by entering the territories of Liao, and there was no other way to get through except passing the territories of the Western Xia. Tributary ambassadors of the countries in Central Eurasia and tradesmen got used to passing through Juyan Lu (居延路) in the north of the Hexi Corridor.¹⁴ They travelled southward to the southern circuit of the Silk

13 The southern Silk Road: The Silk Road makes three diversions in Dunhuang; the northern route detours from the north ridges of Mt. Tian Shan, heading westward; the Middle route skirts the southern ridges of the Tian Shan, heading westward; the southern route starts at Dunhuang and travels westward along the edges of the desert, then turns southwestward to cross the Kunlun Mountains and passes Charkliq, Qiemo and Khotan, and finally goes through Kashgar and cross the Pamir to Central Eurasia.

14 Juyan Lu (居延路): This is a very ancient track starting at the Liao River in northeast China, passing through bend of the Huang He and heading to the west. Travellers begin their journeys eastward in Tian Shan and cross the Gobi Desert to the north of the Hexi Corridor, then passes the Juyan Lake Basin (*Juyan luzhou* 居延綠洲) reaching the north of the Hexi Corridor (now in the north of Ejin Banner, Inner Mongolia, China; the lower part of the Ejin River). Then they move to the west of Yinshan, where there are two diverted routes. The northeast route is heading towards the areas of the Liao River; the southeast route leads to the interior of the Middle Kingdom.

Road heading southeast of Lop Nur and the Qaidam Basin, and then passed the north shore of Qinghai Lake across Xining. Reaching the border of the Middle Kingdom, travelers would head eastward to the Huangshui Basin and then through the North China Plain to Kaifeng, the Northern Song's capital. The other route started at the Qaidam Basin, passing it in the south to Songpan County (now the tourist hotspot Jiuzhaigou Valley) and the Sichuan Basin and finally following the adjacent paths of the Yangzi River to the southeast of the Middle Kingdom. Muslim ambassadors and tradesmen from Arabia, Persia, and Central Eurasia frequented there. Polo's *Journey to the East* provides a detailed travelogue of the south Silk Road heading east to Qinghai and the Song Middle Kingdom. It illustrated the footsteps of Muslims, their journeys in the cities of Kashgar, Yarkant, Khotan, Qiemo and Charkliq, validating the historical fact that on their journey ambassadors and tradesmen passed through the southern Silk Road after arriving in Xinjiang.

The historical and geographical survey on "Huihui nations" and "Huihui Shaji," as analyzed above, indicates that the two terms did not originate in relation with Hui community, but related to what Zhou said in the last words of his *Personal Notebook*: "Now Huihui take their homes in the Middle Kingdom, especially in the coastal areas near the Yangzi River, instead of returning to their families in the northwest." Zhou thus outlined the formation and distribution of "Huihui" in China coming from Central Eurasia—emigrating from no-man's-land to fertile land in China. Zhou reasoned there was no turning back for "Huihui," due to the extreme and dangerous climates of the deserts. Tracing the history of Song over 700 years ago, it comes as no surprise that the historical accounts of Zhou could not accurately pinpoint the causes of Huihui formation. What makes Zhou's account so important is that the historical facts are consistent with other written records about the Huihui, and in particular the exact geographical distribution of Huihui population concentrating on the coastal areas in the southern Yangzi River. The term "Zhongyuan (中原)" meaning the lands of the Middle Kingdom has both broad and narrower meanings. Zhongyuan, in its narrowest meaning, refers to the swathe of land between the Han River and the fertile lands of Henan (河南), south of the Yellow River; the broad sense of Zhongyuan, however, covers the broader and ever-changing borders north of the whole Yellow River from Eastern Jin (317 AD–) to the Song Dynasties (960–1279 AD), together with the neighboring empires of Liao (916–1125 AD) and Jin (1115–1234 AD) occupying Mongolia and Western Xia (1038–1227 AD), the Hexi Corridor. But getting back to the question of the Huihui of the Song Dynasty, or the collective of Muslims travelling by sea from Arabia, Persia, Central Eurasia, and Southeast Asia: How and when did Huihui form itself as a notable community, and become integrated with Han and other ethnic minorities?

Throughout Chinese history cultural integration among different races occurred in large scale. One such massive integration occurred in the Wei and Jin Dynasties, where frequent wars raged and China was essentially ruined over three centuries, thereby paralyzing society and its development and causing the suffering of beleaguered emigrants from the Xiongnu, Xianbei, Qiang, Di and Jie tribes who all came from the north. The frequent resettlement of these ethnic groups led to intensive cultural exchange and re-production and cultivated the “best” lifestyles of each race. Such processes, or cultural assimilations were mainly due to the economic and cultural power wielded by the large population of Han that acted as a propellant. Compared with the dynasties of Wei and Jin, the whole of the Song Dynasties was considered also another golden age for multi-racial integration. Along the borders of the Middle Kingdom, the integration included Turks and Uyghurs during the Tang Dynasty; Khitan, Tangut and Jurchen in the Song, in addition to a list of “foreigners” outside Chinese borders: Arabs, Persians, Central Eurasians and Southeast Asians, who permanently settled, populating the southern coast of the Yangzi River. Some Muslims, not being assimilated into Chinese (Han) cultures, absorbed other Chinese and ethnic minorities and became a new ethnic community—the Huihui. The formation of the Hui community, therefore, was inevitably conditioned by the history of mass movement as an internal factor on the one hand, and the external factors that facilitated such cultural integration, on the other. These factors fostering the formation of the Hui community illustrate the historical normativity of changes. A common fact illustrating this is the Muslims inhabiting China since the Tang Dynasty who had travelled via the Silk Road or by sail, cohabited with other ethnic minorities and reproduced offspring. Historical records show some Arabs supporting the Tang army, after the An Lushan Rebellion, living permanently in Chang’an (Xi’an) and bringing up their children; Arab settlements in China’s cities continued through to the Five Dynasties and the Northern Song. According to Volume 2 of *Pingzhou Ketan*: “... in the Yuanyou reign (元祐, 1086–1093 AD) of Emperor Zhezong of Song (宋哲宗), a leader of foreign trading houses (*fanzhang* 蕃長), surnamed Liu, was appointed by the Imperial Court as the Chief Attending Officer in the Ninth Rank (*zuo ban dian zhi* 左班殿直).¹⁵ He married a Chinese woman of royal blood (*Zongnu* 宗女) and got promoted to be an official. But Liu died without heirs. The matrimonial siblings raised a legal claim on the right of

15 Chief Attending Officer in the Ninth Rank (*zuo ban dian zhi* 左班殿直): A military official rank, in the ninth rank of the main grade. See: Gong Yanming (龔延明), *History of Song: Officialdom and Ranks* (*Songshi zhiguanzhi buzheng* 宋史職官志補正) (Hangzhou: Zhejiang guji chubanshe, 1991).

succession of his land and properties, and the Imperial Court verified Liu's authentic identity: a Muslim married to a lady of royal blood. The Imperial Court, therefore, rectified cross-cultural marriages among royal blood by prohibiting them with the exception of a man whose family had held official title in the Imperial Court for three consecutive generations. According to *Song Dynasty Manuscript Compendium* (*Song huiyao jigao* 宋會要輯稿) written by Xu Song (徐松), there appears a short description of a cross-cultural marriage in 1137 AD: "Abu Ali, a Muslim tycoon, came to Canton [Guangzhou]. An imperial official proposed a marriage with his younger sister to Ali in return for trade deals and his permanent residency in Canton." Clusters of foreign trading houses (*fanfang* 蕃坊) were the settlements of Arabs and Persians; Ali was a common name for Arab and Southeast Asian Muslims, and Abu Ali was married to a woman of royal blood. There were numerous accounts of such cross-cultural marriages occurring, but the Muslims involved in these affairs were only a very small fraction of the whole Muslim population in China. Yet, these marriages thereby facilitated cultural integration and laid a foundation of further integration for the following generations.

Why did the majority of immigrating Arabs, Persians, Central Eurasians and Southeast Asians who settled in China not assimilate with the populous Han Chinese, and instead form their own ethnic enclaves? Partially it was their firm and faithful belief in Islam that allowed them to adopt an economy and culture apart from the Han Chinese. They were disciplined by *fiqh* (Islamic law) and the rituals laid down by the Qur'an and other Holy Scriptures, especially those related to marriage, funerals and diet. Lest they breach all these by adopting Chinese customs, they instead opted to live and habituate with local Muslim counterparts. Cultural assimilation has always occurred in such a manner since the Ming-Qing eras. In 1417 AD, the Kings of Sulu Archipelago (in the Philippines) paid an official visit with 300 delegates to the Yongle Emperor (永樂皇帝). After the visit, the envoys went back to the Philippines, and unfortunately, one of the kings, Paduka Batara, became ill and died in Dezhou (德州), Shandong. The Yongle Emperor sent an imperial envoy to pay his deepest tribute to the king's death and resolve the death matters, burying him at the North Camp Village (*Bei Ying Cun* 北營村). After that, Yongle sent his imperial consolations back to the Sulu Archipelago to the elder son of the deceased king. As successor, he left his younger brothers and sisters-in-law to fulfill the tomb-keeping duties of guarding the tomb. In addition to the lavish funeral, the Imperial Court ordered teams of Muslims to be lackeys in guarding the tomb. Forbidden to marry Chinese, the heirs of Sulu Kingdom nonetheless settled in China, but their sons and grandsons lived in the places where most Muslims settled, and therefore the problems of marriage and reproduction were finally

settled. In other words, the Sulu people mixed with Muslims in China. In late Qing, the Sulu clan had expanded to around 50 households in Dezhou, and some of the family members moved to Henan, Anhui, Hebei and Tianjin.

When developing marital, surrogate, or employment relationships with a person of Han or other non-Muslim ethnicity, Muslims faced difficulties generated by the large gap in religion and customs between Muslims and other ethnic groups leading to a slow pace of cultural assimilation. So, how did the process accelerate and finally form a new, nativized ethnic group? A parallel study has been suggested to answer the question of Muslim assimilation in China. Arabs, Persians and Central Eurasians comprised the largest groups of Muslim immigrants, which collectively formed the Muslim community in historical China; prior attention has been given to the historical conditions in which they were situated providing information on the exact historical factors of such assimilation. The Arab Caliphate ruled over the lands of Central and Western Asia until the 9th Century AD, at which time the caliphate no longer controlled these lands. From the 9th Century onwards to 1258 AD, the year the caliphate completely declined, Central and Western Asia were challenged by numerous uprising, denominational conflicts, internal riots, fractional powers, crumbling empires and, in addition to natural disasters, widespread famines, and rampant plagues. The black slave upheavals, beginning around 970 AD, had a widespread effect on the Persian Gulf and Baghdad for almost two decades; an earthquake in 977 AD destroyed the Port of Siraf as results of floods and plagues that further caused the empire to decline; the politics of Central Eurasia rose and fell frequently, and Tang Dynasty China was devastated by wars that caused its downfall in the 9th Century AD after the uprising of the Five Dynasties. The conditions of the Song Dynasty were no better than those of its predecessor: its borders were seriously encroached upon by Liao, Jin and Western Xia armies. Notwithstanding these upheavals and wars, the vast lands of northwest China and the fertile lands of the southern Yangzi River provided a promised land for Arabs, Persians and Central Eurasians. In the view of these peoples, notwithstanding the continuous wars between Song and the northern empires, it was convenient for them to travel to Jin and Western Xia for trade and diplomatic networking. In fact, the Song imperial court appointed renowned Muslims and respected traders from other countries as officials for matters related to foreign trade. When sea traders sailed back to ports, trade officials would hold banquets for them in appreciation; some trade officials were sent to Southeast Asia in convoys to promote multilateral trade. Meanwhile, ports on the southeast coast, for instance Guangzhou, provided clusters of foreign trade houses and districts, populated with foreign tradesmen. When trade disputes arose, the appointed official would intervene, mitigate and resolve any

disputes involving two or more parties. Such institutional arrangements of foreign trade, all in all, allowed foreign traders to feel like “guests being served as if they were at home.” According to *Song Dynasty Manuscript Compendium, The Monetary Record, History of Song* (*Songshi shihuo zhi* 宋史·食貨誌) and other private writings, the numbers of Arabs, Persians and Central Asians coming to China, either through the Silk Road or by sail, increased after the Tang Dynasty and some of them resided permanently in China. Below I outline this historical trend of Muslims beginning to settle in China and becoming a naturalized community.

Zhou Mi's writings about foreign Muslims emerging as a new “nation” in Zhongyuan, or the Middle Kingdom, refer to those who came from the northwest via the Silk Road in the Tang and Song Dynasties. The section on *Huihui Shaji* also mentioned “Huihui nations,” an allusion to Chorasmia, with Arabs, Persians, Central Asian Turks and Uyghurs called “Huihui.” “Huihui Shaji,” as noted above, alluded to the traditional passes from Central Eurasia to China—the Silk Road, which crosses the deserts in Xinjiang. During the Northern and Southern Song Dynasties, owing to frequent wars, Arabs, Persians and Central Eurasians became highly mobile, moving to and from Central Eurasia and China. Among these migrants and delegates were tributary ambassadors, tradesmen and priests, together with laborers of all ethnicities. These migrants and delegates were recorded in historical writings and documents. Zhang Shunmin, whose writing was quoted above, depicted the unending, to-and-fro travels of people from Khotan, as well as Tajiks, Byzantines and the Miaoli. In this period, Khotan became a conquered land of the Kara-Khanids and a region under Islamic influence. Delegates travelled in groups to Song to pay tributary gifts: Tajik delegates came via the Silk Road and by sail; Khotanese delegates came annually. The Song Imperial Court, however, was not pleased by all of their trade activities. A record in “Khotan” in Alutu's *History of the Song* read, “In the Yuanyou reign (元祐, 1086–1093 AD) times of Emperor Zezong, the tributary delegates all passed Xizhou Prefecture (熙州) (now Linxia County, Gansu) to the Imperial Court, once a year.” They came to China frequently because of trade and Alutu continued to depict their economic activities, “the land abundantly produced incense which was demanded by peoples passing through. Speculating on this booming demand, tributary delegates monopolized incense markets with local tradesmen by making cartels of incense, buying low and selling high.” Section 122 of “Khotan” in the *History of the Song* mentioned that in 1080 AD, “the Prefecture of Xizhou reported to the Imperial Court on the Ninth Day of the Tenth Lunar Month: Khotanese reported to the customs officials in the Nanchuan outposts with over 100,000 catties of incense and other miscellanies: they are in breach of the Imperial Laws and we will not

let them go prior to your Highness's judgment." The huge load of incense and other miscellanies, of course, required vast labor power, and one can easily imagine how populated the Silk Road was. On the other hand, hauling huge loads of trade goods was not only a practice of the Khotanese, but also Arabs, Persians and Central Eurasians who traded with China by sea or by land. Most of these trading teams came from Arabia, but some were from Byzantium via the Silk Road and Indians also came by sea. Some Arab, Persian and Central Asian tradesmen teams came to the territories of Jin, Liao and Western Xia and resided there with other Muslim inhabitants, a factor that is out of the scope of this inquiry. When they travelled to China, passing through the south circuit of the Silk Road, their daily necessities were supplied by Muslim communities before they crossed Qinghai to Sichuan and proceeded to the middle and lower parts of the Yangzi River. Owing to frequent unrest and war, trade delegates were prevented from traveling for safety reasons. Their stays, whether temporary or extended were not only determined by war conditions, but by the inability of the Imperial Court to meet the insatiable demands required for equal exchange of tributary delegates' gifts. Thus, Zhang Shunmin continued, "The Imperial Court fears the endless and insatiable requirement to exchange tributary goods, and thus detained these tributary delegates in Xizhou¹⁶ prior to their returning to their home countries. In regard to these exchange requirements, the Imperial Court restricted all peripheral tributary states sending their delegates to only once biannually. Regarding the biannual restriction of tributary delegates, General You Shixiong (游師雄, 1038–1097 AD), who was familiar with state affairs in northwest China, wrote a memorial to the Emperor stating, 'all the barbarians adore our prosperity and autarky, and pay tributes to our Imperial Court from thousands of miles away. Oh, the Beautiful Age of Peace and Perpetuity of our Greatest Song that Han and Tang Imperial Courts longed for but never attained! Now our Court restrains these tributary states from paying more official visits and discourages them.' Following the advice in You's memorial, the Imperial Court lifted the biannual restriction of tributary delegates, and later increased the frequencies of official visits." The cartelization of incense markets by Khotanese and local merchants was also depicted by Li Fu (李复), a junior scholar and one-time delegate to the northwest states. He wrote, "I officially witnessed Uyghur, Khotanese, and merchants from Kanlu who had cartelized their goods and exchanged them with Chinese for profit in the guise of 'paying tributes to the Imperial Court' via the pass of Xizhou. The Imperial Court sees through their intentions, thereby restricting the frequency

16 Guo Li'an (郭黎安) et al., ed., *History of Song: Geography* (*Songshi dilizhi* 宋史地理志) (Hefei: Anhui jiaoyu chubanshe, 2003).

of their tributary visits to only those who have permission of entry from the Imperial Court; some tributary delegates even waited years for permission, and let their followers make a living by other means. Under these circumstances, a rich merchant could be brought to poverty. In addition, there were contingent curfews because of unrest and war. Stranded by warfare and unrest, quite a number of Muslims from Arabia, Persia and Central Asia could neither return home nor move forward; cultural assimilation resulted due to their shared faith in Islam. Meanwhile, some Han people and other minorities joined these tiny but innumerable communities, converting to Islam and thereby forming a new nation called “Huihui.” Hitherto, this name described the tiny formations of Muslim groups clustered in Xinjiang, the Pamirs and Central Eurasia who, because of war began to make their second home in the Middle Kingdom.

In his work, Zhou Mi indicated that the “Huihui” densely populated the southern coast of the Yangzi River (or Jiangnan) and that the Muslim inhabitants there were from Persia, Central and Southeast Asia who had arrived by sea, as well a small fraction of Han Chinese. Some Muslims passing through the present-day Singapore Strait, the Philippines and along the coasts of the South China Sea laid down their roots at some marine checkpoints in Sumatra, with quite a large Muslim population settling in Guangzhou after the Tang Dynasty. In the Song Dynasty, as we know wars were raging almost the entire period, sea routes to China became more popular than before, and Islam had hitherto been disseminated through these new Muslim settlements in Southeast Asia and China. Historical records have shown that Muslims were present in Palembang of the Srivijaya Empire (7th–13th Centuries AD, now eastern Sumatra) and Champa (now southern Vietnam). The chapter on “Champa (Zhan Cheng 占城)” in *An Encyclopedia of Laws and Rituals of Song* read, “these Muslims in Champa dressed like those in Tajik regions, and chanted “*Allahu Akbar*” when butchering livestock before feasting. It is certain that these inhabitants in Champa believed in Islam. In the Song, Champa was frequently attacked by neighbouring states, and some refugees escaped to settle in Guangzhou and Hainan, according to the chapter, “Champa,” in *History of the Song* and *The Volume of Officials in The Complete Collection of Books* (*Tushu jicheng zhifang dian* 圖書集成·職方典). Additionally, the term *Nanfang Huihui* (southern Huihui) appears in Zhou’s second volume of his *Personal Notebook*, telling of “a Muslim son-in-law from southeast Asia with a given Chinese name Folian (佛蓮) of the Pu family, who was a tycoon of shipyards in the Song and Yuan Dynasties.” Generally, “Nanfang” referred to Southeast Asia. As claimed by Pong Yuanyin (龐元英), who lived in the last Northern Song dynasty, in her book *The Miscellany of Wenchang* (*Wenchang Zalu* 文昌雜錄), the Honglushi (鴻臚寺), Chief of Imperial Rituals and Ceremonies made a list, including the Tajiks, of

southeastern countries when sending tributary delegates. According to the list, it included Arabs and Persians travelling by sea; the Srivijayans, the Champans, the Arabs and the Persians registered at the Chinese ports who shared their common Islamic beliefs and were collectively called *Huihui*, which is a term that originated from northern China and spread to the south. Xu further elaborated their permanent settlements in China, and wrote “In 1114 AD, Emperor Huizong declared his decree on the 18th Day of the 5th Lunar Month: ‘Given that five generations of foreign traders have been living in my land, any residing trademan as such being deceased and whose properties gained from sea trade and not inherited or acquired by a person will have his unclaimed properties confiscated by the the Superintendent of Customs (*Shi bosi* 市舶司).’” Those foreign traders born in the southern coasts of the Yangzi River eventually married heirs of the Imperial family and Song officials. Thus it came to pass that married Muslims were granted permanent residency, settlements, and the right to acquire property. As a consequence, cross-cultural marriages fostered a new form of cultural assimilation.

The historical formation of the Hui community resulting from such assimilation was noted in *Miscellaneous Thoughts in the Guixin Year* and other historical writings, which were related to joint army forces of Muslims and Han Chinese against the invasions of Mongols. The first battle against the Mongols occurred in Shannan (陝南) (now in southern Shanxi Province). *Records of the Loyal Heros* (*Zhao Zhong Lu* 昭忠錄) reads, “Cao Youwen (曹友聞), a military commander stationed at the border of Tongqin (同慶) (now Cheng County, Gansu), passed the imperial examination in 1226 AD. Cao commanded the Tianshui Army (天水軍) and was dutiful in military operations assigned by the Imperial Court. He recouped the surrendering Muslims soldiers and commanders from battles of the defeated Jin and Mongolian armies. Later, Cao fought a large-scale battle with the Mongols in 1235–1237 AD in Mianzhou (沔州) (now Hanzhong City, Shaanxi), killing 100,000 more Mongolian fighters, and he died fighting.” *Records of the Loyal Heros* also mentioned a place called “Huihui Fortress (*Huihui zhai* 回回寨)” where Cao and his Muslim warriors, numbering in the tens thousands, fought ceaselessly until their deaths. Their bravery and loyalty were due to the unbearable and unbridled barbarity of the Mongolians who looted and torched wherever they passed. And because of Mongolian barbarity, Muslims of Western Xia and Jin joined the Song camp and fought without turning back. In 1236, another Mongolian battalion rode and attacked Xiangyang (襄陽). *Folk Legends of Eastern Qi* (*Qidong yeyu* 齊東野語) reads, “In 1234 AD, the Southern Song government ordered Zhao Fan (趙範) as the highest military commander of Jinghu (荊湖), to defend Xiangyang but Zhao could not overcome the defending commanders’ disunity

and, as a result, there was widespread disorder in Xiangyang. Zhao, fearing that circumstances had worsened, “destroyed his ancestors’ temple and led his deputies, including Li Fu (李虎), Huang Guobei (黃國弼), Xia Chuan (夏全) and several “Huihui,” to sneak out the city via the West Gate though he lost his commander’s seal. After a while, all in Xiangyang knew of their their sneaking escape.” The above quote recorded Muslim involvement in the battle of Xiangyang. Alternatively, *Miscellaneous Thoughts in the Guixin Year* described Muslims taking Mongolian war horses: “In the seventh lunar month of 1274, the Yuan (Mongolian) commander Bayan of the Baarin (伯顏) led his battalions to attack Song; in the ninth month, the Yuan armies arrived in Jingzhou from Xiangyang by both river and land, then followed the Han River to take Shayang (沙洋); and by the end of the year, they headed to Hanyang (漢陽) and planned to cross the Yangzi River from the Xisha Wukou (西沙蕪口) crossing at Yanglubo (陽羅堡), around which was the heavily entrenched Song army. While Bayan led his major forces to attack Yanglubo, and sent another battalion to cross the shallow waters of Qingshanfan (青山礮), Song leaders, fearing that the Yuan army would critically breach their defenses, sent Muslim troops to ambush and steal the war horses used for crossing the river, gaining 200–300 horses at each ambush. Two of the three historical events described above indicate the times of Huihui formation as not later than the mid-12th Century.

Based on Zhou’s records on the distribution of Muslims in China, we extend the scope of enquiry to the Muslims in Liao, Jin and Western Xia. It was discovered that the Hui in these borderlands were established somewhat earlier than those in China. Let us consider, for instance, the Liao (916–1125 AD), which stretched eastwards to Bohai and westward to the Altai Mountains, touching Central Eurasia in the region of the Tajiks and Persians along the busiest trading route. Diplomatic marriages were common, as indicated by the record of a Liao princess married to a Tajik prince in the *History of Liao*. Liao also had frequent exchanges with Uyghur groups like the “Ganzhou Uyghurs,” “Shazhou Uyghurs,” “Hezhou Uyghurs,” and “Kara Khoja (Gaochang) Uyghurs,” as was recorded in *History of Liao*, which mentioned “the Alashan Khanate of Kara Khoja, the Palace of Ediz.” The historian Chen Yuan (陳垣) made another reference to the Khanate of Kara Khoja, “which was then converted to the Ediz religion of Kara Khoja.” Chen added, “the origin of Hui religion is Islam, which was first mentioned in *History of Monarchs and Their Subjects in Past Dynasties* [alternatively *Outstanding Models from the Storehouse of Literature*] (*Cefu yuan gui* 冊府元龜) and *Commentaries on the Western Regions in the Old Book of Tang* (*Tangshu xiyu zhuanzhu* 唐書西域傳注), and the Central Eurasiatic Khanates with Alashan appeared quite often as names.” Kara Khoja Uyghurs, one of the Kara-Khanid Khanate’s confederates, paid fourteen tributary visits to Liao

between 933 and 1068 AD, apart from trade. At that time, Uyghur camps were found east of the South Gate of the Liao capital, Linhuang (臨潢) (now Baarin Left Banner, eastern Inner Mongolia), where there were makeshift settlements where Arabs, Persians and Muslim Uyghurs gathered, forming a Hui community. Jurchen, once subordinated to the Liao, began to resist the ruling authority of the Liao in the late 11th Century AD and established their empire, Jin, in the 12th Century (1115–1234 AD), finally exterminating the Liao in 1125 AD and the Northern Song in 1127 AD. The newly founded Jin Khanate even commanded greater areas of land than the Liao and continued to flourish through trade and diplomatic relations with neighboring countries. According to Volume 121 of *History of the Jin* (*Jinshi* 金史), between 1161–1189 AD, three Etzina Uyghur people reached the southwestern borders for trade and were said to be from Balasagun.” The (Jin) imperial decree said, “Those people whose nations are not a tributary state are not under our immigration control, and are allowed to settle in Xianping Prefecture (咸平府) (now Kaiyuan, Liaoning) where most Uyghurs live.” In addition, among the Jin armies was a Loyal Army (*Zhongxiaojun* 忠孝軍) comprised of members of various ethnic groups. As *The Biography of Chizhan Hexi* (赤盞合喜傳), Volume 113 of *History of the Jin* recorded, Chizhan Hexi “was promoted to be the Jin military commander of Lianzhou (*Lianzhou cishi* 蘭州刺史), commanding the Loyal Army which comprised of captives and defectors from Uyghur, the Hexi regions (河西), and the Central Plain (*Zhongzhou* 中州).” Volume 122 of the same book also recorded, “Soldiers of the Loyal Army were all escaped prisoners of war from Uyghur, Naiman (乃滿), Qianghun (羌渾), and the Central Plain (*Zhongyuan* 中原) who wanted to escape punishment.” When Mongols exterminated Jin, Jin Generals Wuxin (武仙) and Wang Shixian (汪世顯) recruited their military staff from “Huihui and the eighteen clans of Western Xia that never surrendered to the Mongols.” Li Jifu (李直夫), a Jurchen playwright in the early Yuan Dynasty, created a Huihui role in the third act of *Tiger-headed Shield* (*Futou Pai* 虎頭牌): “My great grandfather was called Zhu Lizhen (竹裡真), a heir of the Luzhen Banner (祿真) of Huihui in Jurchen.” The play is about the Jurchen resistance to the Liao rule; Luzhen Banner Huihui refers here to a banner system of military organization which often appeared in the Yuan and Qing Dynasties. The play, notwithstanding its fictional figures and episodes, had its elements of narrated realism—for example, the military institutions of Jurchen. Through their military contributions, the Huihui thus became a part of Jin’s history and literature.

Last but not least, let us trace the formation of Hui in Western Xia.

“The Western Xia held the eastern area from the Yellow River, west to the Yumen Gate in Dunhuang, south to the Su Gate and north to the Gobi Desert.” Later, the borders of Western Xia included almost all of what is today Gansu,

all of Lingxia, Yehekjuu and Bayannur League in Inner Mongolia and parts of Shaanxi and Qinghai all aligning along the main corridor of the Silk Road. All travellers to the East, including Arabs, Persians, Central Eurasians and Uyghurs had to pass through Western Xia to the Hexi Corridor thus facilitating cultural encounters. An article on page four of the *Xi'an Evening News*, 2 December 1982 introduced the Khara-Khoto, "in the southeast of the Gobi Desert, Ejin Banner, Inner Mongolia, there stands an ancient, ruined city, with walls nine meters high with a white pagoda and a nearby mosque. That is the ruin of the Khara-Khoto Fortress, or the Black City." Ejin Banner is situated at the south-east of Khara-Khoto, a junction of the south Silk Road and the Juyan Lu (see notes 26 and 27 above). Exchanges between Muslim travellers is evidenced by the presence of a mosque found near the city. In 1271, 44 years before Western Xia's extermination by Mongols, Marco Polo passed through the Hexi Corridor and found Muslims in Shazhou and Ganzhou. Lastly, we will compare different Muslim settlements in terms of historical origins. Places to be analyzed include Qingyang, Longdong and the Guanzhong Plain, Shaanxi. Muslims in north Shaanxi and Longdong were closely tied with the Ming Dynasty and participated in the peasants' uprisings in the late Ming, but Muslims in Guanzhong were less close to Muslims settling in north Shaanxi, so they did not participate in the uprisings. Moreover, we can find some clues in the theater productions popularized in Yuan Dynasty. Volume 20 of *Records of Yuan Lives* (*Geng Lu* 耕錄) listed 713 plays related to the histories of Song, Jin and Yuan dynasties and amongst such plays was the episode of "Huihui in the Crabapple Garden (*Huihui lihuayuan* 回回梨花院)," and other plays, for instance, *General Diqing Restoring Yaoche*, (*Diqing fuduo aoche* 狄青複奪衣襖車) (anonymous), *Ten Spies Troubling Yanan Prefecture* (*Shi tanzi danao Yananfu* 十探子大鬧延安府) (anonymous) and *Journey to the West* (*Xi you ji* 西遊記) by Yang Jingxian (楊景賢). The first two plays were written in the mid-11th Century AD and recount Song defences against the Western Xia. Diqing (狄青) and Fan Zhongyan (范仲淹) were the main characters in *General Diqing Restoring Yaoche*, which portrayed them fighting against the Jin army led by Shi Yaqia (史牙恰). Act Two of the play was about "a robust warrior, with his incomparable physique and strength, [who] has long defended against barbarian armies from the Kingdom of Hexi (河西國)." Here, the Kingdom of Hexi refers to the Western Xia, situated west of the Yellow River. "Hexi" means the west of the Yellow River. Volume 9 of *The Dream Pool Essays* names, "Zhou Yuanhao (趙元昊), leader of Hexi, rebels." Volume 143 of *Major Events in Zizhi Tongjian* (*Tongjian jishi benmo* 通鑑紀事本末) reads, "the territories of Hexi have not been ceded as agreed. The disputed territories, if not taken by our army, will be occupied and divided by Hexi and the Mongols for their generous use."

Ten Spies put “Huihui mandarins” on stage and the script was written with code-switched terms in Arabic and Persian. Despite the fictional themes and roles appearing in these plays, the contents were somewhat consistent with history from which these play were created, thus confirming the formation of Hui in Northern Song, Liao, Jin and Western Xia regimes.

In a general view, Zhou Min’s statement, that “the *Huihui* people have been making their home in China, especially in the Jiangnan regions (江南)”, accurately summarized the formation and distribution of the Hui people.

3

In Zhou Mi’s writing, Muslim customs and religious rites were also recorded. Muslims, with the passing of time, had become much more populous. Not only did Zhou’s writing mention the geographical distribution of Muslims in his time, but he also observed some of the religious practices and customs of specific regions. For example, he depicted in detail an Islamic funeral, as follows:

According to the Islamic custom, a deceased Muslim is cleaned by an assigned person, who pours water into the mouth of the corpse with a copper vase to clean the inner gut. After cleaning, cloths are used for drying the whole corpse before it is mummified (sic) with ramie, silk or plain cloth for storage in a coffin. The coffin is made of slabs of pine wood only suitable in size for a human body, and no other things can be placed inside. Water, after being used for bathing the body, is then pooled in a tank and sealed with stone plates for the purpose of “calling the soul back.” A table set on the covering stone plates is used for sacrifice. This is done by placing a banquet on the table every four days for forty days. After this, the coffin is buried at a Muslim-owned and managed cemetery, and the graves are rented for burials at fixed prices; masonry work is offered at a cheaper price compared with non-Muslims. During the burial rite, relatives and other affiliates near and afar expose their uncombed hair, kneel, shed tears and shake in mourning and shock during the ceremony. When a coffin is being relocated to the site where a ceremony is scheduled, the attendants at the funeral of a wealthy person are requested to hold candles and set out nuts for the procession, unlike attendants at a funeral of a poor person. Then the attendants, starting with the eldest, bow to the coffin following customs, and then finish with bowing again, and tip their boots for a moment of consolation. After paying tribute to the deceased, the Holy Scripture is recited. Three days after the ceremony,

the coffin is finally buried, and wealthy families offer lavish feasts for neighbours and the poor; whereas at a funeral for a poor person, the attendants only come to the grave to remove the deceased from the coffin, and burying the body so it faces west.

After writing this, Zhou added, “In the Spring of 1291, I witnessed (an Islamic funeral) at Kanbi Garden (Kanbi Yuan 瞰碧園).” This eyewitness account, Zhou wrote, involved not only funeral rites pertaining to Muslims, but also elements of Chinese funeral rites that were incorporated. Ma Zhu, in his *Qingzhen zhinan* (清真指南), highlights the particular feature of some Muslims who were keen at adopting Chinese philosophies, customs and rites. He elaborated, “With thousands of miles between them and thousands of years of accumulated intellectual inheritance, China and Islam[ic cultures] have their distinctive faces and acculturation... just as one cannot live in the Wo’s (倭, old name for Japanese) country without wearing Wo’s clothes, and one cannot follow Cantonese customs without speaking Cantonese. Never gazing lazily at things of all kinds, a wise person learns his or her wisdom by articulating his or her thought to the trends and tides he or she knows and thinks, like sails turn as headwinds change.” As quoted above, Zhou mentioned an “assigned person”, either man or woman, who bathes the deceased, using big, copper vases to bathe the entire body. At full carrying capacity, they were so large they could be used as “bathing vases.” Zhou’s writing also described the bathing process such as his observations of “pouring water in the month” and “clean the whole body thoroughly.” The process is so called “complete cleaning” (*dajing* 大淨), meaning that, despite the inability of the deceased to clean himself or herself, Islamic funeral rites require that someone clean the whole body on the deceased’s behalf. The ritual of complete cleaning includes three steps: (1) rinse the mouth thrice; (2) inject water into the nasal orifices thrice; and (3) cleanse the whole body. The bathed corpse is afterwards dried with cloth. “Pour water into the mouth” is consistent with what is required in the Islamic ritual, but not, as Zhou suggested, for “cleaning the inner gut.” Zhou also described the deceased being “mummified” with ramie, silk, or plain cloth, and that was also a misrepresentation of Islamic funeral practices. The correct practice includes clothing the body in a white shroud consisting of three pieces for men and five pieces for women, without buttons and not made of ramie or silk. Furthermore, burial in a coffin is not a Muslim funeral tradition; instead, the body was temporarily stored in mortuary boxes (which are for public use) and delivered to the graveyard before the burial. Zhou further noted, “it is sometimes heard that the dead body was taken out of the coffin (the temporary box) upon arriving at the graveyard, and buried in the cave, naked and facing the west”. This

description is true except that naked burial is not practiced and the shroud is not taken off from the body. The sacrifice as quoted is partly true, however, not at four-day intervals for the whole forty-days, but, as required, the banquets are prepared for the dead on the first, second, third, fifth, seventh, thirtieth, fortieth and hundredth days after the exact date of death. The banquet, with a requisite participation of an *ahong* leading the prayers for the food offerings (*niermaiti, ni'māt*), is then consumed by relatives and other participants. The purpose of banquets is to beg pardon from Allāh for any sins committed by the dead, not as a "sacrifice" as Zhou depicted.

Furthermore, Zhou also mentioned Jujinyuan (聚景園), where a public Muslim graveyard in Hangzhou was located. According to Volume 4 of *My Memories of Wulin* (*Wulin jiushi* 武林舊事), "The yard is outside the Qingbo Gate (清波門), where Emperor Shaozong spent the rest of his life writing calligraphy. While several royal visits were then paid there, the whole garden was left barren and unrenovated." Xu Fangji (徐逢吉), in his chapter "Jujinyuan" wrote, "now the garden has turned into a graveyard for Muslims." When did the garden become a Muslim graveyard? Zhou dated the discovery of this graveyard to 1291, twelve years before Song's extermination by Mongols. Zhou recorded a funeral procession in which participants "expose their uncombed hair, kneel and shed tears in mourning and shock during the ceremony, near and afar," but public mournings were not required in Islamic rituals; Muslims had in fact followed the customs of Han Chinese. In the procession, "the attendants of a wealthy person's funeral are requested to hold candles and set out nuts at the procession, whereas attendants of a poor person's funeral are not." This practice, reflecting the social inequalities among Muslims, has been preserved to the present day. In other places, Zhou misrepresented the Muslim act of kneeling and bowing in the ceremony,¹⁷ in fact Muslims only stand alongside the wooden box which carried the corpse. This custom is called *janaza* (*zhenaze* 者那則) by Hui people; kneeling is only required when a sibling of the deceased, placing a tray carrying the Qur'an on his head, offers it to the *ahong* reciting scriptures to seek the pardon of Allah. The last sentence, "tipping boots for a moment of consolation," which actually refers to the bereaved family expressing thankfulness to the mourners, shows Zhou's misunderstanding of the prostrations of Muslims and the way attendants customarily greeted each other. Perhaps Zhou only saw the Muslims from behind and misunderstood the action of a full bow to the ground as "tipping boots". Zhou witnessed

17 Act of kneeling and bowing: in the habit of Hui people, they say, "salaam" along with the act of kneeling and bowing.

the funeral in 1291 in a garden that, according to his writing, *Zhi Ya-tang Prose* (*Zhiyatang zachao* 志雅堂雜鈔), had a courtyard surrounded by bamboo and that belonged to the Yang family, heirs of the famous General Yang Zezhong (楊沂中). Zhou moved from Huzhou to Hangzhou in 1278 after the the Mongol occupation in 1276. Zhou was then living in Yang's apartments—Kanbi Garden—which was then renamed Guixin Street. Reading from the text, we understand that the Muslims in the procession were identified as Sunni,¹⁸ who practiced the funeral rituals as discussed above.

Furthermore, in the chapter “No Intercalary Month of the Hijri Calendar (回回無閏月),” Zhou introduced the calculation of days related to fasting, one of the five tenets of Islam.¹⁹ He wrote, “The Hijri calendar has no intercalary month, and no anomalistic or synodic months, in each year, 360 days for a year... The *Huihui* celebrate their Yiyou (1281, 乙酉), New Year's Day, on the twentieth day of that Chinese Lunar Year.”

Then he remarked in a small paragraph:

The new month of Hijri (the Islamic Calendar) begins with the new (crescent) moon; each year begins on the day on which Ramadan ends. Shawwai [the tenth month of the Islamic calendar], is celebrated as the Festival of Breaking Fast or Eid ul-Fitr. If three days of Shawwai are assigned in the first months of three consecutive years, then the forth Shawwai day is assigned on the last month (the twelfth) of the fourth year. In other words, there accumulates one-year time in retrogression, according to Hijri, after 36 years for a cycle. Such calculations do not apply to our rituals, and are not praiseworthy!

18 Sunni: It is the largest branch of Islam; its adherents are referred to in Arabic as *ahl as-sunna wa l-jama'a*, “people of the tradition of Muhammad and the consensus of the Ummah.” Sunni Islam is the world's second largest religious body, after Christianity and largest denomination of any religion in the world. Sunni Islam is sometimes referred to as the orthodox version of the religion. The word “Sunni” is believed to come from the term *Sunna*, which refers to the sayings and actions of the Islamic prophet Muhammad as recorded in the *hadith* (the teachings of Muhammad).

19 Five tenets of Islam: Abbreviated versions of the tenets to which Chinese Muslims are required to adhere to fulfill their religious obligations. 1. Accept that Allah is the only God, and Muhammad is the messenger of Allah; 2. Worship; 3. Fast; 4 Zakat (Pay religious tax); 5 Hajj (the pilgrimage to Mecca).

The Hijri calendric calculations²⁰ are discussed in the context of the Chinese Lunar Calendar. Hijri is a sole and simple calculation of the orbit of the moon in cycles: one lunar cycle for a month and twelve cycles for a year; the odd months have thirty days and the even months have twenty-nine days with no intercalary month. Zhou was right to assert “there is no intercalary month,” but wrong in affirming that “there is no anomalistic or synodic month.” Accordingly, the total days thus calculated, a year is 364 days, and the average month’s duration is twenty-nine days and twelve hours, being precisely 44 minutes and three seconds less than the average time for completing a lunar cycle around the Earth. Based upon this aberration in calculations of thirty years, there are eleven fewer days than the actual astronomical years by calculations of lunar orbits. In order to compensate for the eleven day disparity in synchronizing the nominal to the actual astronomical calendars, one day is added to the end of the twelfth month, making it thirty days long, in a selected eleven of those thirty years. All these eleven years and eleven months, calculated as remedies for this disparity, are the leap years and months respectively in Hijri. Zhou also added, “As inherited, the (Chinese) calendar defines 360 days in a year.” This mistake could have been generated from Zhou’s misunderstanding of the Hijri, or the fact that Hijri calculations are based upon the start of Ramadan in the ninth month in accordance with the Quran, but the Chinese Lunar Calendar is calculated for the practical uses of grain planting, and Zhou mistakenly confused the two. Alternatively, the Chinese Lunar Calendar sets the rules for calculations: twelve months for a normal year; thirteen months with an additional intercalary month in a leap year; one additional intercalary month for three years; two additional intercalary months for five years; seven additional intercalary months for nineteen years; and all of these rules are inclusively applied to the calculations. Hijri, however, does not use any additional intercalary month in its calculations. Besides, Hijri differs from the Gregorian Calendar, which is based upon a complete astronomical cycle of the Earth around the Sun, or in precise measurement of 365 days, 5 hours, 48 minutes, and 46 seconds, but according to Hijri the average year length is 354 days, 8 hours, 48 minutes, which is 10 days, 21 hours, one minute less than the Gregorian Year, or accumulatively less than one month in a calculation of 2.7 years in disparity (with reference to Gregorian Calendar), which is also similarly found in the calculations between the Chinese and Gregorian

20 Hijri calendric calculations: Original meaning is “move.” 622 AD, Muhammad, avoiding persecution by polytheists, migrated from Mecca to Medina. Later this came to be viewed as the first year of the Islamic era, and in that year, July 16 was the first day. Solar calendar is used for counting number of years.

Calendars. The year Zhou wrote this paragraph on Hijri was 1258 AD, or the 684th year of Hijri. The beginning of the Hijri year was on the Second Day of the Second Lunar Month, not the Twelfth Day of the First Month as recorded. But Zhou was right to record “a Hijri month starts at the crescent moon,” and that Muslims celebrated Shawwai, though he confused the day of celebration which should not be conflated with the beginning of a new Hijri year. This occurred because of the Chinese misunderstanding (including Zhou’s) of Ramadan as the equivalent of the Chinese New Year. Zhou used “bazhai” (把齋), meaning breaking the fast, a once popular word found among the Chinese Muslims in the Song and Yuan Dynasties. Why were the dates of Ramadan retracted in earlier days? The retraction is due to the differences in calculating the dates with additional intercalary months of the Chinese Calendar, but not Hijri; every three years of Hijri totals approximately one day fewer than the respective three years in the Chinese Calendar. Ramadan is set in the ninth month of a Hijri year. Suppose in a certain Hijri year, the ninth month (with Ramadan) generally overlaps the fifth month of the year in the Chinese Calendar (but the Hijri year before does not), the Ramadan month in the next two Hijri years would continue to overlap the fifth year of the Chinese calendar, too. But because that there is always one leap year in every three consecutive years in the Chinese Calendar, in which one extra month is generated—during the fourth year, the ninth month of the Hijri (with the Ramadan) would move forward one month and overlap the fourth month of Chinese Calendar (rather than the fifth). What Zhou described about the beginning and the end of Ramadan only indicated both events were marked by the consecutive intervals of the crescent moon, but did not make any reference to other astronomic calculations.

As mentioned in another passage of Zhou’s writings, “in the Year of Xinmao (辛卯, 1291), the *Huihui* religious leader’s home in Tianjing Lane was set on fire”, which indicates that there were already Hui people living in the forbidden city of Hangzhou (杭州禁城). Muslims in Hangzhou, according to Zhou, settled between Kanbi Garden and Guixin Street, and Tianjing Lane in the forbidden city; there was a Hui cemetery in Jujinyuan. And according to Tu Zongyi (陶宗儀), “next to the Chuan Bridge of Hangzhou there stands an eight-story mansion for rich Muslims.” This description of Muslim buildings and settlements was further supplemented by Ibn Battuta, who described that there were altogether six walled-quarters in Hangzhou; the Muslims lived in the third quarter which, like other Islamic cities, included the muezzins. All in all, the writers’ accounts provide evidence that Muslims also inhabited Hangzhou.

Thus Zhou’s writings, as analyzed above, show his dedication to research on Muslim customs and rituals, which he recorded as an invaluable resource

useful for further research on such topics. Though the Sunni dominated the Chinese Muslim population originating from Arabia, Persia, Central Eurasia and Southeast Asia since the Tang Dynasty, very few archives showed their religious inheritance through generations in China. Zhou's writing is, therefore, a critical supplement to the paucity of Chinese writings on Muslims, and more importantly, in fact, Zhou's writings also reveal some Chinese customs, adopted by Chinese Muslims, that contradicted Islamic doctrines and religious practices, such as "mourning cry (*ku sang* 哭喪)" and "mourning chorus (*chang xiao* 唱曉)" in Chinese funerals, as well as fixed intervals of paying tributes to a deceased relative or friend. Also recorded by Zhou were customs and rituals as defined by original Sunni doctrines: charity, prayer, feasting, fasting and breaking-of-fast celebrations. The adoption of Chinese culture by Sunnis continued until the end of the Ming Dynasty, in which various religious lineages (*menhuan*) emerged, and the traditions of the Sunnis in Hui regions in China were called *qadim* (*Gedimu* 格底木),²¹ or "old Islam." During the Qing dynasty, the Jahriyya sect²² came into China and was considered "new Islam." In Zhou's writings, we preliminarily track the development and evolution of Muslims in China, but we further explore how the Sunni Muslims in the Song and Ming Dynasties were historically linked to those after this period.

4

The formation of the Chinese Hui nationality started around the 12th Century AD, and historical records related to this are rare. Zhou's writings are the most comprehensive accounts of Song and Ming Muslims in terms of the origins, economy, warfare, and religious affairs. In the past, such studies focused upon historical records from the Tang to Yuan Dynasties or travelogues. However, such records and travelogues rarely focused upon the Chinese adoption of Islam, Muslim customs, or rites resulting from further Islamic

21 Qadim: a transliteration from Arabic, meaning old. It has the nickname of Old Sect, Islamic Ancient Religion etc. Late Ming to early Qing, although some new sects were established like *menhuan*, Qadim still kept traditional religious practices.

22 Jahriyya: is a *menhuan*, or Sufi order, in China. Founded in the 1760s by Ma Mingxin, it has been active since the late 18th and early 19th centuries in what was then Gansu Province (also including today's Qinghai and Ningxia), when its followers participated in a number of conflicts with other Muslim groups and in several rebellions against China's ruling Qing Dynasty. The name comes from the Arabic word *jahr*, referring to their practice of vocal performance of the *dhikr*. This contrasted with the more typical Naqshbandi practice, observed by the Khufiyya, of performing it silently.

dissimination and cultural integration. Historical archives related to this aspect are seldom researched and organized. That is why Zhou's writing has a prime contributory value in explaining Hui relations to the Song and Yuan governments and people.

On the other hand, in general, Zhou Mi provided us with a detailed and concise account of where the Muslims originated from and where they settled in China in accordance with the historical contexts of the Song and Yuan Dynasties. His detailed descriptions of a Hui funeral in Hangzhou and fasting, which have continued to be present-day practices, might indicate that he was a close neighbor of Muslims, and that he recorded what he observed, heard, and researched on how Muslims really lived, compared with other writings that are brief and purely imaginative.

Compared to other writings related to Song and Ming Muslims in China, Zhou's was comparatively objective and free of racist or derogatory labels. As a common practice, historians of Zhou's times described other races by using "Fan (番)" "Wu (胡)" "Yi (夷)" "Liao (獠)" with the connotations of "barbarian" or "beast-like" entities or states, a traditional attitude of Chinese feudalism. According to the chapter "Sea Liao in Panyu" (*Panyu hailiao* 番禺海獠) in *History of Ting* (程史) written by historian Yue Ke (岳珂) wrote, "The barbarians from the seas lived together in Panyu (now Guangzhou) and amongst them the richest was the family of Pu, being called the "white barbarians (*baifanren* 白蕃人)." The *Song Dynasty Manuscript Compendium* recorded that Muslims settled the south coasts of the Yangzi River for five generations. Muslims elsewhere, settling in Sanya, Hainan, were recorded as saying that they were registered in Sanya in the Song and Yuan Dynasties due to the unrest of these original countries; those living at ports called Boliao (舶獠), Hailiao (海獠); those Muslims born in China for five consecutive generations were called Fanke (蕃客), their clusters of settlements called Fanchuan (蕃邨) and Fanpo (蕃浦). As the subjective language shows, despite the quantity of information provided by numerous historical archives, the records written by Zhou Mi are relatively more objective, which helps us to study the process of cultural assimilation during the author's age and the formation of Hui.

Satuq Bughra Khan and the Beginning of Islamization in the Tian Shan Region

Hua Tao

Abstract

Satuq Bughra Khan, having converted to Islam, started a new historical page for Islam and the Turkic tribes in the Tian Shan region. His conversion, historically, has aroused academic interest from both Chinese and overseas scholars but the documentation related to his conversion is rare and research on this is rather limited. This chapter provides an overview on the materials related to his conversion, especially the *Tarikh-i Kashghar*, points out some misconceptions and corrects the date of his conversion to circa 950 AD. Furthermore, this chapter delves into the historical context by emphasizing economic and cultural advancements and reconstructing the original context of the historical events in a way that lays a foundation for further research.

Keywords

Satuq Bughra Khan – Tian Shan – Islamization

It has been said that Islam was circulated among the Turkic tribes around Tian Shan after Satuq Bughra Khan converted to Islam; this event caught much academic attention in the late 19th Century. Henry Walter Bellew, in his report on Yarkand, published in Calcutta, used the fragmentary manuscript, *Biography of Satuq Bughra Khan (Tazkirah Bughra Khan)* to draw out his brief biography.¹ Robert Shaw selectively translated *Tazkirah Bughra Khan* in

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1 Sir T.D. Forsyth, *Report of A Mission to Yarkand in 1873* (Calcutta: Foreign Department Press, 1875), 121.

his book.² In 1881 AD, H.G. Raverty translated and made notes to *Tabakat-i Nasiri* and included some records about Satuq Bughra Khan from Gardezi's *Zarn al-Akhbar*.³ In 1893 AD, Stanley Lane-Poole wrote *The Mohammadan Dynasties* and included the name of Satuq Bughra Khan though dates were unspecified.⁴ Two years after, Ney Elias, in his translated *Tarikh-i-Rashidi*, made a lengthy footnote on Satuq Bughra Khan, "accordingly, he previously ruled over Turkistan with the borders edging towards China; before his death, circa the end of 10th Century AD, he further occupied Bukhara."⁵ No doubt, Ney Elias referenced *Tazkirah Bughra Khan*. In 1900 AD, Fernand Grenard compiled some historical materials from Muslim and Chinese sources, translated them into English, and then carried out research on *Tazkirah Bughra Khan*, which he then translated, relying on early handwritten documents. Francis Henry Skrine and Edward Denison Ross mention Satuq Bughra Khan in their writings.⁶ Nonetheless, these writings do not provide data on what happened before and after Satuq Bughra Khan converted to Islam and concerned scholars have only been able to rely on the text *Tazkirah (Satuq) Bughra Khan*, which is inconsistent with other sources and is overtly religious in its account.

In 1898 AD, the famous Oriental scholar, Vasily (Wilhelm) Barthold, when researching Satuq Bughra Khan, incorporated *Mulhaaat al-Surah* (Sulacidian buble 蘇拉赫詞典補編) in his work, thereby laying the foundation for future studies on Satuq Bughra Khan. Barthold concedes that the above historical material related to early Kara-Khanids is conflict-ridden with

2 Robert B. Shaw, *A Sketch of the Turki Language as Spoken in Eastern Turkistan (Kashghar and Yarkand)* (London: Baptist Mission Press, 1878).

3 Minhaj-ud-din and Abu-'Umar-i-'Usman, *Tabakat-i-Nasiri—A General History of the Muhammadan Dynasties of Asia Including Hindustan*, trans. Henry George Raverty (London: Gilbert & Rivington, 1881), 901–902.

4 Stanley Lane-Poole, *The Mohammadan Dynasties* (London: Routledge, 2000).

5 N. Elias & E.D. Ross, *A History of the Moghuls of Central Asia* (London: S. Low, Marston and co., 1898), 281–286. N. Elias & E.D. Ross, *A History of the Moghuls of Central Asia* (Chinese version) (*zhong ya mengwuer his* 中亞蒙兀兒史), trans. The Institute of Ethnology, Xinjiang Academy of Social Sciences (*Xinjiang shekeyuan minzu yanjiusuo* 新疆社科院民族研究所), annotated by Wang Zhilai (王治來) (Urumqi: Xinjiang People's Health Publishing House, 1983), 193–194.

6 E. Bretschneider, *Mediaeval researches from Eastern Asiatic sources [microform]: fragments towards the knowledge of the geography and history of Central and Western Asia from the 13th to the 17th century* (London: Trubner & Co., 1888), 252; Francis Henry Skrine and Edward Denison Ross, *The Heart of Asia: A History of Russian Turkestan and the Central Asian Khanates from the Earliest Times* (London: Methuen, 1899), 119.

different legendary contents, and he declined to take it further.⁷ Nobody since has followed this matter and no other translations of the text were produced so that present-day scholars quote extensively from Barthold's research and his perspectives on Satuq Bughra Khan. In the 1950s, Omeljan Pritsak exhaustively examined all records of Satuq Bughra Khan, but he only concentrated on proving his hypothesis on the lineage of the Kara-Khanids with the origin of Qarluq, leaving other materials conflicting with his hypothesis unexplained.⁸

Chinese scholars (such as Wang Riwei, Feng Jiasheng, Cheng Suluo, Mo Guangwen) have paid much attention to Satuq Bughra Khan as a historical figure, and more scholars undertook research on him in the 1970s (Wei Liangzhang, Liu Zhixiao and others). Recently there have been a few translated versions of *Tazkirah (Satuq) Bughra Khan* into Chinese.⁹ Recent research on Satuq Bughra Khan, however, only hinges on either western research outputs, or the latest translations of *Tazkirah (Satuq) Bughra Khan* that determine the subsequent research on the Islamization of the Tian Shan region.

This chapter, as we shall see, examines all records of Satuq Bughra Khan in relation to the details of his actions and the exact background of his conversion to Islam, but does not consider the question of the tribal relations of Satuq Bughra Khan and the Kara-Khanids covered in other research I have done; my initial response to this is that there is no conclusive evidence that has proven any of the contesting claims, and I leave this question unanswered in this chapter.¹⁰

7 Wilhelm Barthold, *Twelve Lectures on the History of Turks of Central Asia* (*Zhong Ya Tujue shi shier jiang* 中亞突厥史十二講), trans. Luo Zhiping (羅致平) (Beijing: China Social Sciences Press, 1984), 80.

8 Omeljan Pritsak, "Von den Karluk zu den Karachaniden," *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenlandischen Gesellschaft* 101 (1951): 271–302.

9 Xinjiang Shekeyuan Zongjiao Yanjiu Suo (新疆社科院宗教研究所), *Xinjiang Religious Studies Information* (*Xinjiang zongjiao yanjiu ziliao* 新疆宗教研究資料) 16 (Jan 1988). There are three papers translated into Chinese about Satuq Bughra Khan in this collection. They are (1) written by Haji Maula, translated by Bao Wenan (寶文安) (The original publishing year is unclear; originally it was a manuscript); (2) unknown author, translated by Ma Weihai (馬維汗) (original source is unclear, but has an endnote of Islamic calendar: 13-5-1321 (7th August 1903)); (3) unknown author, translated by Cui Weiqi (崔維歧) (There was an endnote: This article is translated from Uzbekistan Namangan 'Ishaq' version of *Biography of Saints* (1931), 86–117.) The three biographies were similar, but there are some important differences, like the years of birth and death of Satuq: (1) written 409/1018–1019; while (2) and (3) were written as 429–1037/1038.

10 Hua Tao, "On the question of genealogy in relation to the pedigree of the Kara-Khanids (*Kalahanchao wangshi zushu wenti yanjiu* 喀喇汗朝王室族屬問題研究)," *Studies*

1 The Earliest Records of the Islamic Conversion of Satuq Bughra Khan

As we know, the earliest record of Satuq Bughra Khan being converted to Islam is found in Gardezi's *Zarn al-Akhbar*, which was finished around 1050 AD. Raverty makes a note about *Tabakat-i Nasiri*, indicating that most Muslim authors did not understand the earliest situations in the Kara-Khanids. But other authors, like Abdul-Hay ibn Dhahhak ibn Mahmud Gardezi (died 1061 AD), recorded narratives of the Kara-Khanid khans in descending order.

1. Satuk-Kujah, an infidel who ruled over Turkestan. After a dream one night, he converted to Islam the next morning and started converting others as well. The event happened in probably in 315 AH/927 AD or 320 AH/932 AD, but no other records are found. In a book [possibly one written by 'Awfi Sadid-al-din] he was named as Satuq Bughra Khan (Satuk-Karachar appeared in the original text, but the last "r" was revised as "n")
2. After Satuk-Kujah's death (the exact time of his death was not recorded), his son Musa came to the throne. Musa death was also not recorded in history.

We have the book and understand what the above two accounts really mean based on those very brief texts, but, to date, that is the earliest text found on Satuq Bughra Khan.¹¹

Mulhaqat al-Surah, written by Jamal Qarshi and finished around the early 14th Century AD, has incorporated part of *Tarikh-i Kashghar*, the author of which, al-Almai al-Kashghari,¹² was then a renowned scholar of the Tian Shan region who died in in 476 AH (1083–1084 AD). The book was not dated but is assumed to have been published after the book by Gardezi. Here Jamal Qarshi writes about Satuq Bughra Khan:

in History of Yuan and Northern Nationality (Yuanshi ji beifang minzushi yanjiu jikan
元史及北方民族史研究集刊) 12, 13 (Oct 1989–Feb 1990).

- 11 There are similarities between the records of Gardezi and the records of Ibn al-Athir. The writing of al-Sallami (薩拉米) (died in year 955) is the history source for them (*Turkestan* 突厥斯坦, 10). Maybe al-Sallami had already recorded to Satuq.
- 12 Abd al-Karim ibn Muḥammad al-Samani, *Kitab al-Ansab*, (Leiden: Brill, 1912), 472 B. al-Almai died 10 years before his father, and Dajarnal al-Qarshi said his father died in 486.

Satuq Bughra Khan al-Mujahid Abd al-Karim bin Bazilr Arslan Khan bin Bilka Kur Qadr Khan¹³ originating from Afrasiyab.¹⁴ He was, in the times of the Khaliyah al-Muti (334–363 AH/946–974 AD), and the rule of Abd al-Malik bin Nub al-Samani, the first khan converted to Islam among the Turkic tribes in Kashgharia and Ferghana. As written previously, the interpreters have mentioned a few names of sheikhs, like the son of the Great Imam, Mahmud ibn Hussayn ibn Muhammad al-Kasgari (al-Almai al-Kashghari), asking Allah to have mercy on both of them, and writing the story of Satuq Bughra Khan (described as below).

An earlier record was found in *Kamil fi al-Tarikh* by Ibn al-Athir (1160–1233 AD) that was considered to be one of the most important chronicles of the Islamic world. Writing in 536 AH (1141–1142 AD), al-Athir narrates the famous battle of Qatwan and mentions Satuq Bughra Khan as one of the key players:

As found in sayings, we learn that Kashghar, Blasakin, Khotan, Talas and other areas in Turkestan were in the hands of al-Muluk al-Khaniyyah al-Atrak (Turkic khans). Some of them were Muslims, originating from Afrasiyab al-Turki, but they had their (mutual) differences. Their great-grandfather, Satuq¹⁵ Bughra Khan, once dreamed of a figure descending from Heaven and heard the voice that convinced him to become a Muslim by saying, “Convert thyself to Islam! Then from the present to the everlasting future, may God bless thee!” After that he woke up and converted to Islam, a decision made and announced at dawn. After his death, his son Musa Bughra Khan came to the throne and his descendants still ruled over the area, and later the Arslan Khan Muhammad Ibn Sulayman Qadir Tamghach, Ibrâhîm bin in his title of Tabghaj, and Eli bin Ali bin Musa bin Satuq. They altogether mobilized their armies against the rule of

13 *Bilka Kur*: there was a suspected missing note on the vowel pronounced as “-k” in the original handwriting. Barthold takes the two words as only one—*Bilka*. J. Marquart takes “Kur” as Uyghur; Pritsak pronounces it as Kur. Here Kur is a substitute of the missing note, but in Chinese translation the term is pronounced as “Kur beika” (闕毗伽).

14 The original text is “Afrasiyab b. Bashank Ast (?) b. Rasman (?)” and “Tur b. Afridun b...” (illegible) b. Karktan (?) Yafth b. Nub. (Bless him in peace).” According to section 540 of *Muruj al-dhahab wa-maadîn al-jawhar*, the full name of Afrasiyab is Farasiyab b. Bashank b. Zay Arsan b. Turak b. Sabaniyasib b. Dursbasib b. Tub b. Dusrun b. Tudj b. Afridun. See: Masudi, *Muruj al-dhahab wa-madîn al-jawhar* (*Huangjin caoyuan* 黄金草原), trans. Geng Sheng (耿昇) (Xining: Qinghai renmin shubanshe, 1998).

15 The initials of Satuq are printed as Sh.B.Q. in the index of both Tomberg and Dar Sadir editions of *Kamil fi al-Tarikh*, but Sh.B.Q. in the main texts.

Ya'qub Qadir Khan, who was later dethroned and killed. We have talked about these events in the chronicles of 494 AH (1100–1101 AD), and the result was the throne returning to the Arslan Khan.

In addition, *Mudjimid al-Tawarikh wa-l-Qisas* (author unknown) has some passages mentioning Satuq Bughra Khan.¹⁶

As we have examined, the important historical documents from the 11th to 13th Century mention Satuq Bughra Khan, and these are divided into two types. The first type stresses his conversion to Islam in association with his dream. The second, in contrast with the first, offers detailed accounts that differ in their contents, and are deemed to be more reliable. Though they differ, these two types confirm the identity of Satuq Bughra Khan, who led his Turkic tribes to Islamization.

2 The Conversion of Satuq Bughra Khan to Islam

The conversion of Satuq Bughra Khan to Islam is described in details in *Tarikh-i Kashghar*. Below we learn about his conversion in *Mulhaqat al-Surah*, which quoted from *Tarikh-i Kashghar*:

There first appeared the Islamic conversions in Tashkand (now called Tashkent). The people of Tashkand were converted as such when Bilka Kur ruled. Meanwhile, Nuh bin Mansur al-Radi al-Samani led his army to attack other countries and reached Aqsu, then pillaged a large sum of money and treasures and brought them back home. The abovementioned two leaders never stopped their communications till the death of Nuh al-Samani. His elder brother, Ismail bin Mansur, came to power and continually communicated with Qadir Khan. Later, the throne was then given to Ushulджаq, brother of Bazir Arslan Khan. The new khan did not lend his ears to the Islamic emissary, and the younger brother, Nasr bin Mansur, fled to Kashghar. Ogulcak Han, the ruler of Kashghar, received and hosted Nasr bin Mansur as a very important guest, and later said to him, 'Stay here as though you were in your own home; your brother has slighted you, but I will treat you like a real brother, sincerely.' Ogulcak Han then appointed Nasr bin Mansur as the governor of the Artux region, and caravans travelled there from Bukhara and Samarkand, selling

16 M. Fernand Grenard, "La Legende de Satok Boghra Khan et l'histoire," *Journal Asiatique* 9, no. 1 (1900): 38.

garments and other miscellanies. Nasr told very interesting things to Qadir Khan, and appeased him by saying Allah approved of Qadir. When we talked about the conversion of those people to Islam, some people told me, 'This unbeliever (Qadir Khan) was very curious about silk clothing and cane sugar, because he had no idea about those things before'. Qadir Khan liked Nasr unthinkingly and trusted him... Nasr hence requested a piece of land the size of a piece of ox skin, on which a mosque would be built for worshipping Allah. The Khan said, 'you can take the land as you wish!' Nasr butchered an ox and tore its skin into a long unbroken strip, which he then used to mark the land where the mosque now called the Great Mosque of Artux was constructed. The khan, astonished by the cleverness of Nasr, was Ogulcak Han and the uncle of Satuq Bughra Khan.

At the age of twelve, Satuq was handsome, genteel, talented, clear-minded and perspicacious, all the supreme qualities that other kings and princes did not have. If the caravans came from Bukhara, Satuq would come to Artux and inspect what they had brought, and he divided the goods into equal proportions. His cleverness pleased Nasr al-Samani who in return treated him very well. At noon, Muslims fulfilled their tenets and prayed. Never seeing the good fortune in his future, he only stood outside and saw their praying. After the prayers, Satuq asked al-Samani about the congregation, and al-Samani replied, 'We pray five times in accordance with the clock-time of a day.' 'Who requires you to do so?' asked Satuq. Then Nasr al-Samani spoke of the ninety-nine names of Allah and His virtues, and then deliberated on the *fiqh* according to the narration of Muhammad and said more about the merits and performance of Islam, summarized in a verse:

He comes with delight surprisingly; He roots our hearts in vacuity.

Satuq exclaimed immediately, 'Allah is praiseworthy, genuine, a figure that is followed by me, with worth! How nice the religion is, to which it is worth converting!' Then Satuq proclaimed he had recognized Allah, praised Him, and then recognized both Allah and Muhammad, peace be upon him, and he claimed his faith in Islam, and his bodyguards also converted to Islam. After that, al-Samani kept this secret of Satuq's, about the latter's conversion to Islam, never telling his uncle Ogulcak Han. Satuq learned the Quran secretly, knowing the conditions of conversion and faith by understanding the doctrines within the text. Satuq then met some trustworthy, close relatives and asked if they would convert to Islam, and among them fifty were converted and followed Satuq as well. But later on, sensing something different about Satuq, Ogulcak Han

doubted him and sent someone to spy on him. Recording every detail of Satuq's activities, including adulations and prayer gatherings, the spies told everything to Ogulcak Han, who then told Satuq's fiancée. She, however, truly loved Satuq and warned him, "Your uncle would test you. As he plans to renovate a temple for worshipping idols, you should tackle his test on your own." On that day, every laborer was required to move bricks, one by one, but Satuq carried them in a pack of two. Then he secretly prayed to Allah, "I will help fight against Your enemies and the enemies of Islam! Let me truly believe in Islam! And let me pronounce your words in the Quran! Let me turn this place into a mosque for the servants! I will rebuild your *mihrab* in the mosque, with a *minbar* used to praise You, then I will announce the congregation and lead all religious duties, asking for Your praise.' That became the Great Mosque of Artux. His doubled labor won the praise of his uncle, but resulted in the protest of his fiancée. His uncle said, 'I would not let him (Satuq) do anything, whether he plots against our religion, keeps his faith (in Islam), or moves behind me and takes the lives of my children.' As time went by, Satuq saw what was going on and became wise as he continued to read the Quran. At the age of twenty-five, Satuq, backed by fifty knights, went hunting, and en route took a castle called Baighadj Balig. After possessing the castle, he reported to his uncle, and was released from further worries about his uncle's shackles on his future. Determined to subvert his uncle, he recruited a band of 300 cavalry riders, and with the support of a mujahidin from Ferghana, raised an armed force of 1,000 men. They first attacked At-bash, converting the surrendered army to their own reserves so that a total force of 3,000 cavalry soldiers was sent to the siege of Kashghar in the name of Islam where, leading Satuq's servants and slaves, they crushed the authoritarian ruler. In other words, Satuq finally did what he had promised. In the year 344 AH (27 April 955–14 April 956 AD), the conquer Satuq Bughra Khan died and was buried in a village called al-Mashhad in Kashghar. Today his tomb still attracts tourists and residents.

The above quoted fragment is generally consistent with similar accounts in *Tazkirah Bughra Khan*. Other biographies written later also recorded the conversions of Satuq and a prince of the Samanids in connection with Nasr al-Samani, as mentioned previously, with the same storyline beginning with the doubt of a royal uncle, then a plot ending in regicide. These biographies in some ways have connections with *Tarikh-i Kashghar* by sharing some specific historical origins. Notwithstanding these origins, the biography of Satuq Bughra Khan was later rewritten with additional details, including details

about al-Isra wal-Miraj and other miracles that are related to later Islamization in the 15th and 16th Centuries.

Having already discussed the biography of Satuq Bughra Khan in *Tarikh-i Kashghar*, we turn now to other aspects of the region and its influences in relation to his life.

2.1 *The Locations at which the Ancestors of Satuq Bughra Khan Lived*

After the Uyghurs were defeated by the Kyrgyz, some Uyghur tribes escaped west, led by Ormizt Tigin, though their final settlement remains unrevealed by Chinese historical sources. In describing the decline of the Uyghur empire, like *Salaam Travels* (*Salamu youji* 薩刺姆遊記) Ibn Khurdadbah's *Kitab al-masalik wa l-malik*, Arabic historical texts only mentions that Tian Shan was controlled by the Karluks.¹⁷ Concurrently, the area around the Amu and the Syr Rivers was ruled by the Samanids, and the eldest son, Nuh ibn Asad was the leading emir of those lands. In 839–840 AD, Nur, taking advantage of an earthquake in Ferghana, capitalized on regional unrest and attacked Aqsu and Ferghana. This is consistent with the accounts that revealed that Tashkentans were converted to Islam in the times of Bilka Kur Qadir Khan, and that Nuh bin Mansur al-Radi al-Samani sent his army to attack Aqsu. Based upon these accounts, we know that Bilka Kur Qadir Khan was active west of Tian Shan in the first half of the 9th Century AD, and the zone of influences of the Kara-Khanids, after Bilka Kur, later moved to Kashghar when Satuq was young while his uncle, Ogulcak Han, ruled over Kashghar and Artux. Later, it being adjacent to At-bash, Satuq first stationed his rebel forces there.

Very few historical materials provide evidence to explain such movement. Pritsak argues that Karluk was a tribal branch of Ogulcak Han, and sees the accounts in relation to Karluk in *Tarikh-i Kashghar* as being akin to secret codes circulating between Ogulcak Han and the Samanids, thus suggesting a large battle occurring there. Hitherto, Pritsak did not cite sources that would indicate such an occurrence, and instead, he hypothesized that the Kara-Khanids were ruled by two kings. The Eastern branch, ruled by Arslan Kara Khan, was stationed in Bukhara; his deputy, Bilka Kara Khan, ruled over the western part and was stationed in Talas and Kashghar, but then moved back to Talas for unknown reasons. As for the deputy it is not possible that Bilka Kara Khan was stationed in Bukhara, where his chief was based; he needed to choose another

17 Hua Tao, "The Turkic tribes in western Tian Shan before and after the westward migration of the Uyghurs (*Huijuan xiqian qianhou xibu Tian Shan diqu de Tujueyu zhubu* 回鶻西遷前後西部天山地區的突厥語諸部)," *Nationality Studies* (*Minzu yanjiu* 民族研究) 5 (1991).

citadel for his rule—thus, he chose Kashghar. The premise derived from the above historical accounts henceforth refutes what Pritsak infers—that was only one king of the Kara-Khanids ruling over Bukhara as the capital.

The first historical account told by Pritsak was about a Turkic prince. He proposed that the Turkic Samanid prince, supporting Satuq, led an army to attack Bukhara and captured the Kara Khan (332 AH/944 AD). *The Book of Government* (*Zhiguo ce* 治國策), alternatively hypothesized that the generals of the Samanids, in 943 AD, failed an attempted coup d'état. During the coup d'état, the generals decided to raise armies and convene other generals on the excuse of attacking the Turkic infidels of Bukhara. But since the coup d'état failed, the military expedition against the Turks became meaningless. Hence, the report of this event stresses its failures rather than the execution of the whole plot. *Kamil fi al-Tarikh* describes the event in a completely different way, recording the rebellion in 332 AH/943–944 AD.¹⁸

In this year, Abdallah Ibn Ashkam took a position against al-Amir Nur (ruling 331–342 AH/943–954 AD) and set heavy defenses in Khwarazm (Chorasmia). Nur, knowing of his heavy defense, diverted his route and went to Merv, where he ordered Ibrahim bin Paris to lead an army to deal with Ashkam. Unfortunately, Ibrahim died on the journey to Khwarazm, though, fearing the impending battle, Ashkam wrote to the Turkic king Malik and fled to his land for protection. Meanwhile, the [Turkic] king's son was being held hostage by al-Amir Nur, and was imprisoned in Bukhara. Taking this golden opportunity, al-Amir Nur wrote a letter to the Turkic king, making an offer on condition that Abdallah Ibn Ashkam would be exchanged for his son, who would thereafter be released unconditionally. The Turkic king accepted the offer and Ashkam surrendered to Nur who forgave Ashkam for the wrong done to him.

As recorded above, the area that in which Abdallah Ibn Ashkam lived most of his life is limited to Khwarizmi and had no connection with Issy-Kul and Bukhara nearby. It is suggested that the Turkic king was supposedly the tribal leader of Toquz Oguz near Khwarazm. Had Ashkam surrendered en route from the lower Amu River where it crosses the area of Toquz Oguz and heads toward the north of Talas and Bukhara (and edges the eastern borders of Talas), he would not have passed through Khwarazm. However, the evidence produced by Pritsak cannot prove the existence of the Kara-Khanids ruling over Bukhara at the time of Satuq.

18 Ali ibn al-Athir, *Kamil fi al-Tarikh* 1 (Bayrut: Dar Sadir, 1967), 82.

Furthermore, Pritsak draws on Chinese historical records of Turks sending emissaries to China in 925, 931 and 941 AD.¹⁹ Based upon these records, Pritsak concluded that the Kara-Khanid polity somehow experienced difficulty (mainly because of actions by the joint forces of Satuq and the Samanids) and asked the Chinese states (the five dynasties and ten kingdoms in between the Tang and Song Dynasties) to send expedition forces. Grenard raises a similar premise about the Kara-Khanid Khanate. In 1955, James Hamilton considered the likeliness of the request for military support.²⁰ At this point, we have no reason to negate such likelihood based upon what these authors have suggested, but in the first instance, very little to none of the present material would prove the 925 AD Turkic emissaries to China, en route through the territories of Xizhou Uyghurs, the anti-Uyghur Chinese state in Dunhuang (Guaiyijun) and the Ganzhou Uyghurs from Bukhara. On the other hand, we have found historical Khotanese records about some small Turkic tribes around the Hexi region, including the Huns, which suggest the surname of the emissary to the Late Tong Kingdom.²¹ Furthermore, we must ask, is there any relation between the Turkic emissary arriving at Kara-Kitan in 928 AD, and the Turkic tribes conquered by Abaoji (later Emperor Taizu of Liao) on the steppes of the Upper Yellow River (Heju, now between the borders of Inner Mongolia and Shanxi)? Hamilton concludes, "Under such historical context in the five dynasties and ten kingdoms, the likely comparison of the Turkic emissaries to China with a tribe located between Kucha and Ganzhou is not denied."

Citing his third source for his interpretation of the Bukhara Khanate of the Kara-Khanids, Pritsak proved the attack on Bukhara by Musa bin Satuq carrying the title of Arslan Khan (the Great Khan). Although he provides both the title and the order to attack Bukhara, we nonetheless disagree with Pritsak's conclusion, as discussed below. It is commonly understood that the son, Musa, under the rule of Ali Arslan Khan (died in January 998 AD), was stationed in Kashghar

- 19 Ouyang Xiu (歐陽修), *New History of the Five Dynasties* (*Xin Wudai Shi* 新五代史) (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1974), roll 74; Xue Juzheng (薛居正), *History of the Five Dynasties* (*Jiu Wudai Shi* 舊五代史) (Beijing: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1958), roll 39; Wang Pu (王溥), *Institutions of the Five Dynasties Period* (*Wudai Huiyao* 五代會要) (Shanghai: Guji chubanshe, 1978), roll 29.
- 20 James Russell Hamilton, *Les Ouighours: à l'époque des cinq dynasties d'après les documents chinois* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1955); Chinese translation known as: (*Wudai Huigu shiliao* 五代回鶻史料), trans. Geng Sheng and Mu Genlai (穆根來) (Urumqi: Xinjiang renmin chubanshe, 1982), 101–104.
- 21 Harold W. Bailey, *The Culture of the Sakas in Ancient Iranian Khotan* (Delmar: Caravan Books, 1982), 91–92. Note that Argyns were still active in Hexi in the times of the (Mongolian-ruled) Yuan Dynasty.

and his brother-in-law, Bulgra Khan Haluk bin Suleyman, was stationed in Bukhara²² and attacked Khwarazm city. He died six years earlier than Ali bin Musa. After his death, Bukhara was in the hands of Muhammad Toghan Khan, who minted coin with his image on one side and Quz-Baligh (Balasaghun) on the other in 1003–1004 AD. But we still do not know who exactly ruled over Kashghar after Ali bin Musa's death. Yusuf Qadir Khan appeared on other coins as the ruler of Kashghar in 1005–1006 AD, and was the ruler who probably successfully occupied Khotan (not later than 1007–1008 AD), and later Ferghana (1022 AD) and Bukhara (1027 AD). After Yusuf Qadir's death in 1032 AD, his son Ebu Shuca Suleyman came to power and ruled both Kashghar and Bukhara. In 1041 AD, Muhammad Arslan Kara Khan denied the rule of Ebu Shuca Suleyman and proclaimed himself as Khan in Transoxiana, thus splitting Turkestan into two halves: eastern and western. Based upon the above historical evidence, Pritsak's hypothesis cannot, at best, hold true regarding the period before the rule of Suleyman Arslan Khan. Or at the worst, Pritsak stipulates his thesis that a dual khanate of the Kara-Khanids at the times of Satuq, or before, cannot also hold true. His hypothesis of a dual khanate is not upheld in light of the fact that Ogulcak Han appeared, historically, in Talas. What we ascertain is only that the ancestors of Satuq lived around the West of Tian Shan, and at the time of Satuq's youth, the locus of power was shifted into Kashghar, but we still do not know the exact time, process and reason for this shift.

2.2 *The Samanids and the Genealogy of Royal Bloods of Various Turkic Tribes*

Tarikh-i Kashghar has mixed up the genealogies of the Samanids and the kings of various Turkic tribes. Ismar was a cousin of Nur bin Nasr who succeeded the throne after the death of Nasr bin Ahmet in 892 AD, but *Tarikh-i Kashghar* addresses Nur bin Nasr, Nasr bin Ahmet, and Nasr, the brother of Abu Malik (ruled beginning in 954 AD) as siblings. In terms of the Turkic tribes, from the generation of Bilka Kur Qadir Khan to Satuq's uncle Ogulcak Han, mention should be made of several before Ogulcak Han's succession. Such omissions are frequently found in historical records and the legends of heroes. It appears that Ibn Athir and al-Qarshi conflated Bilka Kur and Afrasiyab and treated them as the same person: al Sallami, the contemporary of Satuq, mentioned

22 Fedolov (費多羅夫), *Late 10th century to the 13th century historical overview eastern Karahan* (*Shi shijimo zhi shisan shiji dongbu Kalahan wangchao lishi gaiyao* 十世紀末至十三世紀東部喀喇汗王朝歷史概要), trans. (秦衛星) (N.p: n.p., n.d.).

this matter. In writing the *Diwan ul-Lughat al-Turk*,²³ Mahmud ibn Hussayn ibn Muhammad al-Kasgari has stated more clearly, identifying the Khans of the Kara-Khanids, the Hatun and others who originated from Afrasiyab, as “the leader of all Turkic tribes” involved with activities on the Chinese borders. Afrasiyab is depicted as a national hero of Turan, and later the Muslims saw the people of Turan and their heroes as being part of the Turks. Despite these heroic legends that may not help our understanding of the records about Satuq, they do show some cultural affinities with the Turks.

2.3 *Nuh al-Samani, the Key Person that Influenced Satuq*

Nuh al-Samani was a key person who influenced Satuq, and later Nuh's own biography appeared. We start seeing his biography from al-Muqaddishi (died 990 AD), who writes of Sulman Emir Nur bin Nasr ordering three important regents to aid his three sons to rule over the country in turn. When the elder son Abu al-Malik came to rule in 954 AD, his brother Nuh never came to the historical stage again, and that is why the judgment of Barthold²⁴ is correct: if there is a figure called Nuh al-Samani, then he is only the son of Sulman Emir Nur bin Nasr of the Samanids.

2.4 *The Dates of Satuq's Activities*

Many scholars agree that Satuq's death was in 344 AH/955–956 AD as recorded in *Tarikh-i Kashghar*. Other materials about him have been found and while later biographies about him date his death in the early 11 Century AD at the age of sixty-nine, this is inconsistent with other records. Both Grenard and Pritsak suggest that Satuq's conversion to Islam was in the early 10th Century AD, based upon *Kitab al-Ibar* by Ibn Khaldun (1332–1406), which recorded the rebellion of the Shi'a sect in Tabaristan against the Samanids. One of the rebel generals, Lalliya bin al-Numan, al-Dal sent his army and took Razavi (Nishapur) from the Samanids in the twelfth month of 308 AH (April–May 921 AD). Sulman Emir asked Bughra Khan Malik al-Turk for military help and the latter sent an expedition force to Sulman. The joint force defeated Lalliya and captured him in Amul. Both Grenard and Pritsak argue that Bughra Khan was Satuq, who, they prove, had been converted to Islam.

Ibn Khaldun, no doubt, was the renowned philosopher of history, who became famous for having written *Muqaddimah*. He used most materials from *Kamil fi al-Tarikh* to write part of Arabic history and this is why his version of

23 Muhammad al-Kashgari, *Compendium of the Turkic Dialects (Diwan Lughat al-Turk)*, trans. Robert Dankof (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1982).

24 V.V. Barthold, *Turkestan down to the Mongol Invasion*, 4 ed. (Philadelphia, 1977), 255–256.

Arabic history is less original than Ibn al-Athir's, and worse still, Ibn Khaldun's is more vulnerable to criticisms than Ibn al-Athir's in its coverage. *Kamil fi al-Tarikh* has a detailed record on the battle, which is also quoted by Pritsak:

The Samanids (generals) met Lalliya and battled and some of Lalliya's deputies were defeated and retreated to Merv, but he and other deputies remained on the battleground and fought. Later his deputies were also defeated and Lalliya and his duties retreated. Bughra chased after them and cornered them in a hut, capturing them. Bughra asked Sulman to come and Sulman immediately beheaded Lalliya, putting the latter's head on the spike. Seeing this, the deputies of Lalliya asked Sulman to forgive them, and Sulman forgave them.

The next year, the Samanid army continued their war with the Shi'a in Tabaristan. Both sides asked for a reprieve and the Samanids retreated to Transoxiana and let Bughra settle in Tabaristan. Later on, Bughra returned to Razavi.

Ibn al-Athir never refers to "Bughra" as "the Turkic king Bughra." According to this text, the victory of the battle was not solely a result of Bughra's effort, as Bughra was only one of the Samanid generals in the battle. And this is the final narration of Bughra in *Kamil fi al-Tarikh*. Also, as Pritsak's and Grenard's writings are referred, Ibn Khaldun stopped talking about Bughra after narrating the battle, too. So the whole body of literature about Bughra, we believe, is not reliant upon Ibn Khaldun, whose writings were deeply influenced by the dynastical chronicles of the Kara-Khanids in the 10th to 13th Centuries and who misjudged "Bughra" as being identical to "the Turkic king Bughra." We instead notice the use of titles such as "Kara," "Toqan" etc., that were often used by the Turkic tribes of the Tian Shan region. Then it is tenable to say, based upon the sameness of names, that the name "Bughra" is treated as one identifier and as an alternative name for Satuq used in stories of the latter's conversion to Islam.

Notwithstanding the writing by Ibn Khaldun, Pritsak further notes that the travelogue by Abu Dolaf al-Yanbui, a Muslim traveler in the 10th Century, AD, who, following the Samanid emissary to China, passed through a Turkic state called "Bughraj" where people believed in Shi'a Islam.²⁵ Modern scholars,

25 For original please refer to: A.H. Yaqut, *Mu'jam al-Buldan* (Leiden: Brill, 1959), roll 3; for English translation please refer to: Sir Henry Yule et al., *Cathay and the Way Thither: Being a Collection of Medieval Notices of China* (London, Printed for the Hakluyt Society, 1866), 186–193; in relation to the Turkic tribes, please refer to: Feng Chengjun (馮承鈞), "Tay person Misa'er Travelling Journal in Western Tribes (*Dashiren Misa'er hangji zhong zhi*

however, uncovered that Abu Dolaf's writings on the journeys in the Turkic states, China, and India are fictional,²⁶ and therefore Pritsak's hypothesis still remains unproven.

Yet some passages in *Mulhaaat al-Surah* have not caught general academic attention, stating that Satuq was converted to Islam in the periods of Khalifah al-Muti (334–363 AH/946–974 AD) and Sulman Emir Abu al-Malik (343–350 AH/954–961 AD). According to the above timelines, Satuq's conversion to Islam was as early as 343 AH (7 May 954–26 April 955). Furthermore, his conversion is closely associated with Nasr's departure from the Samanids in Transoxiana, which occurred as early as 954 AD, as his elder brother succeeded the throne. Additionally, according to *Kitab al-Ansab*, the Islamic dogmatist Abu l-Hasan Muhammad ibn Sufyan al-Kalamat spent several years in Bukhara during the Samanid Dynasty, where he served the Turkic khans before his departure from Razavi in 340 AH/951–952 AD. Ultimately, he died before 350 AH/961 AD.²⁷ His departure from Bukhara, however, has some connection with Satuq's conversion to Islam. We also know, amongst the khanates of the Kara-Khanids, only Satuq and his son have both Turkic and Islamic names, that is, Satuq (Turkish) = Adu Qarim (Arabic); Baytuq (Turkish) = Musa (Arabic). These names reveal that Satuq's conversion was after his birth; otherwise he would have been named Musa to indicate that he was born into a Muslim family and he would not necessarily have a Turkish name given after his birth. The *Tarikh-i Kashghar* used "Baytuq" twice in describing the genealogy of the Kara-Khanids, and used "Musa" once, which is believed to have been incorrect. The evidence has shown that Musa and his father Satuq were accustomed to using Turkic names, and Satuq's conversion occurred at his later age, thereby refuting Pritsak's hypothesis that Satuq ruled over Kara-Khanids for nearly forty years. What is meant by "age 12" and "age 25" is that Satuq began his first conflict with his uncle at the age of 12, and converted to Islam at the age of 25.

xiyu buluo 大食人米撒兒行紀中之西域部落), in *Collections of History Researches about Western Countries and South China Sea (Xiyu Nanhai shi di kaozheng lunzhu huiji* 西域南海史地考證論著匯輯) (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1963).

- 26 J. Marquart, *Osteuropäische und ostasiatische Streifzüge* (Germany: Leipzig, 1903), 74–95, 500–502; Ma Yong (馬雍), "Exchanges between the Samanids and China (*Saman wangchao yu Zhongguo de jiaowang* 薩曼王朝與中國的交往)," *Learning and Thinking (Xuexi yu sikao* 學習與思考) 5 (1983).
- 27 Abd al-Karim ibn Muḥammad al-Samani, *Kitab al-Ansab*, reproduced in facsimile from the manuscript in the British Museum Add. 23355, with an introduction by D.S. Margoliouth (Leiden: Brill, 1912), 486 A. Author's Note: The words "Turkic Khan" in Arabic were blurred on the paper; see also: footnote no. 5 of Wilhelm Barthold, *Turkestan Down to the Mongol Invasion* (London: Luzac, 1968), 255.

After his conversion, he lived for a short while then died. All and all, Satuq would probably have converted to Islam not many years before his death. With the death year of Satuq fixed, the Islamization of Tian Shan started circa 950 AD.²⁸

After Satuq's death, his son Musa succeeded to the throne, and shortly afterwards launched attacks to the northern Tian Shan area. The year (349 AH / 3 March 960–19 February 961 AD) is chronicled in *Kamil fi al-Tarikh* in relation to these attacks:

This year, about 200,000 Turks were converted to Islam.

In "History of the Semirechye,"²⁹ Barthold confirms that the Turks originated from the Semirechye and the eastern Tian Shan. Some scholars even argue for the complete Islamization of the Kara-Khanids. We have no evidence to refute such a hypothesis of this complete Islamization, but by considering the fact that Satuq died just shortly after his conversion to Islam, and the fact that the Xizhou Uyghur were the possible "Turkic infidels" attacking Bukhara in 943 AD,³⁰ we therefore propose a new interpretation in the events occurring in 960 AD. In this year Musa had a decisive victory in northern Tian Shan against the Turkic tribes living around the area of the Issyk-Kul. That is why western documents recorded the massive conversion of Muslims in these areas.

After having conquered Tian Shan and the Issyk-Kul, Musa led his armies to attack Buddhist Khotan, but the result was a loss of the Kara-Khanid Khanate. According to the Khotanese document number P.5538a from Dunhuang, in 970 AD Khotanese occupied Kashghar.³¹ In the Chapter, "Khotan," History of Song, there is a record about a Khotanese monk named Jichong who brought along a letter written by the Khotanese king, who proclaimed that he had eliminated the Kingdom of Sheher (Kashghar) and obtained a dancing elephant (*Wuxiang* 舞象). The king wished to present the elephant to the Emperor Taizu of Song (*Songtaizu* 宋太祖) as a tribute and the emperor permitted the

28 Sulian (蘇聯) *History of the Kyrgyz Republic (Jierjisi Gongheguo shi 吉爾吉斯共和國史)* (Almaty: n.p., 1984), 291.

29 Wilhelm Barthold, "A Short History of Turkestan," in *Four Studies on the History of Central Asia*, trans. T. Minorsky (Leiden: Brill, 1956), 99.

30 Hua Tao, "The Western Borders of Gaochong Uyghurs before and after the 10th Century AD (*Shishiji zhongye qianhou Gaochang Huigu de xibu jiangjie 十世紀中葉前後高昌回鶻的西部疆界*)," *History and Geography (Lishi dili 歷史地理)* 10 (1992).

31 Harold W. Bailey, "Sri Visa Sura and the Ta-urang," *Asia Major* 11 (1964–65).

tributary arrangements. The above two accounts depict the setbacks of the Kara-Khanids who awaited another chance for further development.

Meanwhile, however, the Islamic states established themselves in the western Tian Shan area. The Mirki church was converted to a mosque; the ruler of the new city Navikat in between Mirki and Bukhara became a Muslim as well. Despite the politics of the Turkic tribes being comparatively weaker than other neighboring states, and the fact that a Turkic khan in the town of "Urdu" frequented provided tributary gifts to the ruler of the Samanids in Aqsu, the subsequent crumbling of the Samanid Empire led to a speedy development of Islamization in the Tian Shan area.

3 The Historical Inevitability of Islamization in the Tian Shan Region

That the Turkic tribes converted to Islam was a remarkable event in the history of Tian Shan, which is deeply embedded in its historical context.

First, Satuq's conversion to Islam preceded his military attacks on Kashghar during the time of Ogulcak Han, who succeeded to the throne from his brother, Satuq's father, Bazir Arslan Khan. *Tazkirah Bughra Khan* notes that Satuq's mother (the wife of his father, Bazir Arslan Khan) later joined Ogulcak Han's harem. Traditionally, once a ruler died, the succeeding ruler repossessed the wives of the ex-ruler, and this re-possession did not contravene any rules or customs of nomadic tribes. But this re-possession posed a threat to the next successor, or next-of-kin, who could calculate the adverse risk and consequences of losing access to the throne. *Tazkirah Bughra Khan* says Satuq was well aware of such risks and consequences as impeded his future, including death. As written in *Tarikh-i Kashghar* and quoted above, Ogulcak Han warned Satuq against the latter's preempting any plot against the former's rule and succession. It may be conceived that, under such circumstances, Satuq converted to Islam in order to seek support from external forces to rival his uncle, and this endeavor is evidenced by his call for support from voluntary mujahidin.

Second, another result of Satuq's conversion to Islam was the strengthening of Islamic influences on the middle and western Tian Shan regions; at that time Kashghar was proximal to the Muslims whose borders were at the east. According to Allstakhri (died in 957 AD), Muslims occupied Uzkand in the early 10th Century, an area quite close to the locations of Kashghar and At-bash, which were first occupied by Satuq, and Turkic tribesmen living around Uzkand.³² Such proximity suggests the degree of mutual influence

32 *Bibliotheca Geographorum Arabicorum* (Leiden: Brill, n.d.), 333.

between Islamic peoples and the Turks. Notwithstanding the example of Abu al-Kalamat serving the tribes of Turks, Muslims merchants and the solitary Nasr al-Samani alike promulgated their Islamic beliefs on equal footing. *Tarikh-i Kashghar* stresses the important role of Muslim merchants taking their religious influences to Turkic tribesmen, and also mentions Nasr's opportune attempts to circulate the message of Allah, and it is based upon these accounts that Pritsak postulates that the Islamization of Tian Shan started and continued as a peaceful process.³³ But one thing we should remember: the ruling class had the power to determine the ruling ideology that was compulsory for other classes, including the general population. Whosoever Satuq or Ogulcak Han ruled, or later, Musa conquered in the Tian Shan region, they all took their religious expansion to other areas by force.

Third, Satuq's conversion marks the adoption of Islam in the Tian Shan and other surrounding areas, economically and culturally. In such exchanges between the Muslims and the Turks, Sogdian merchants played an important role in Transoxiana and their activities continued after Arabs had conquered the region. In the entries on Kyrgyz (*Xiajiasi* 黠戛斯) and Jiankun (堅昆) in *New History of Tang*, it is recorded that Kyrgyz traded food commodities from Tajiks from near the Yenisei River and Tian Shan. At that time, those engaging in trade were not definitively Tajiks or Muslims, but most probably included Sogdians who were subject to the rule of the Tajiks. Later, in the 10th Century AD, when Satuq came to power, the whole area of Transoxiana had been Islamized and merchants trading with Turks in these areas were most likely to have been converted to Islam as well. *Tarikh-i Kashghar* records merchants approaching Artux joining the congregations and prostrating, and the extent of the Samanids trade with others was expressed in their historical records that revealed their autarky in products such as, "cotton apparel not only for self-sufficiency, but also exported to other places," and for trade and exchanges of "meat from the outskirts of Karluk and Ohguz..." At the same time, "Turks also sold them slaves, not only for local needs, but also for the Islamic world." *Tarikh-i Kashghar*, moreover, describes the commodities transported from Transoxiana to Artux, including clothing, silk, sugarcane and other miscellanies. The recorded list of imports from Transoxiana to Turkic tribes near Tian Shan includes cotton, apparel, and accessories.

As discussed above, the widespread nature of Muslim mercantile activities with other countries made Turkic tribesmen more knowledgeable among Muslims, especially with regards to agriculture, and further these tribesmen

33 Omeljan Pritsak, "Von den Karluk zu den Karachaniden," *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenlndischen Gesellschaft* 101 (1951): 291.

absorbed cultures and economic practices from the Samanids who were Transoxianan Muslims. It can be said that these Turks, historically, raised the living standards caused by such exchanges at the same time when these economic and cultural exchanges were expected to be infrequent due to constant wars in the Middle Kingdom in the late Tang. Turks turned to the west where the cultures and economies of the Samanids might flourish. *Tarikh-i Kashghar* talks about Ogulcak Han having keen interest in the trade of sugarcane, silk and apparel, and about Satuq frequenting his inspections in the bazaars in relation to the traded goods of Muslim merchants whose desire for self sufficiency was a catalyst that helped them to accept the influence of Islam.

Our prior attention, as of yet, has been given to the above context that Turks were not the only peoples converted to Islam. Around 920 AD, Abbas Khalifah converted the Bulgars north of the Islamic World and asked erudite Imam and architects in Baghdad to journey to the Bulgars' lands. Ibn Fadlan observed that the Ohguz were fond of any commodities from the Islamic world, appreciating them so much they were led to imitate religious customs from the Islamic world.³⁴ Notwithstanding the political context like Satuq's usurpation of the khanate and the confrontation of the Bulgars with the Ohquz and the Khazars, the general impulse of Turks in relation to their wholehearted conversion to Islam was an expression of their hope for a prosperous economic and cultural well being. According to *Diwan ul-Lughat al-Turk*, the religious beliefs of the Turkic peoples in the Tian Shan region had been relatively primitive. After being in frequent cultural exchange with people from Transoxiana, Turkic peoples were spiritually unsatisfied, and therefore eager to review the world and themselves with new perspectives. Such needs were duly fulfilled by the strengthening promulgation of Islam, plus the contribution of geopolitics as well (the growing power of the Samanids and the declining Tang crumbling into warlord states) that finally caused the Islamic conversion of Turks in Tian Shan.

All and all, due to the lure of the Islamic world, together with the thrust of geo-politics, Satuq successfully usurped the khanate with the support of mujahidin and founded the first Muslim-Turkic polity that marked a new page in the history of Tian Shan and Chinese Islam. It also marks the birth of a new Islamic culture that rose and developed on broad lands stretching from the Yumen Gate in the east to the Gulf of the Black Sea in the west and contributed to world civilization. Hongxue (宏學). *The Buddhist Heirtage in Tibet* (Zangchuan fojiao 藏傳佛教). Chengdu: Sichuan renmin chubanshe, 1996.

34 A.П.Ковалевский, Книга Ахмеда Иби-Хаддана, Фарьков, 1956.

Analysis of the Introduction of Islam into Kuqa

Li Jinxin

Abstract

Historically, there were two large-scale disseminations of Islam in Xinjiang that subsequently established a privileged stance for Uyghurs. From the 10th to 13th Centuries AD, the Kara-Khanids disseminated Islam to the Northern edges of the Tarim Basin. Then from the 14th to 16th Centuries AD, such religious influences were passed down and extended to Turfan, Hami and the settlement of Mughals in the Northern Tian Shan Circuit. Relying on these accounts, a more precise time during which Islam was introduced into Kuqa (*kuche* 庫車, now in western Xinjiang) is disputed. After examining relevant historical materials this article suggests that Islam was first introduced to Kucha in the mid-14th Century AD. This occurred as a result of Sufi masters' preaching and the active support of the Moghulistan khans [of the Eastern Chaghatai Khanate], and occurred in parallel with the replacement of Buddhism by Islam.

Keywords

Islam – Kucha – Religious dissemination

The introduction of Islam from the West to the East lasted for a period of five centuries. There were two large-scale Islamic disseminations. From the 10th to 13th Centuries AD, the Kara-Khanids disseminated Islam in what is regarded as the initial stage; the second stage ranged from the 14th to 16th Centuries AD when Moghulistan came to power. Having passed through these two stages, Uyghurs in Xinjiang found strength in taking Islam as their national religion. Before discussing these stages, we must first clarify a few issues.

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First, Islam's earliest influences developed around the area of Kashghar. In 915 AD Satuq Bughra Khan usurped the khanship of the Kara-Khanids and forced his ruled subjects to become Muslim. The consequence of this is the first large-scale dissemination of Islam in the region.

Second, within 915–1006 AD, the Kara-Khanids waged war against the Khotanese kingdom, which was at last defeated and whose land was annexed to the Kara-Khanids. The people in Khotan were subsequently forced to become Muslim.

Third, in 1354 AD, the Chaghatai khan, Tughlugh Timur, announced in the city of Almalik that he believed in Islam and promoted it to the tribes and clans he ruled, thus resulting in the second wave of Islamic conversions in the region.

Fourth, at the end of the 14th Century AD, Khidr Khwajah employed his military forces to occupy the surrounding regions of Turfan and required those he conquered to become Muslim.

Fifth, in the 16th Century AD, the Turfan rulers Ahmed bin Küchük, Mansur Khan and others expanded their territories to Hami, beginning the dissemination of Islam there.

These historical accounts have been accepted by most scholars based on the verification of ancient documents—Chinese and foreign. But, by these accounts, the first spread of Islam reached the southern edges of the Tarim Basin and the second wave included the northern lands of the Moghuls [Mongols], Turfan and Hami. The question becomes, situated at the northern edge of the Basin, when did the ancient kingdom of Kucha (*Qiuci* 龜茲, in the region of Kuqa) first receive Islam? Several explanations point to different historical references. One date proposed by Hadani Ryotai is the 11th Century:

In the sayings of the Uyghurs, in 1010 AD, an emissary sent by the Kucha king paid tribute to the Song. Kucha, in the period from the late 10th to the early 11th Century AD, was invaded by the Turks, and all Kucha inhabitants converted to Islam; the blossoms of Buddhism then withered away!¹

The above description is weakly supported, as it is somewhat inchoate in only relying upon what the Kucha emissary said, and therefore does not fully support the statement that all inhabitants of Kucha converted to Islam. Also, the mention of the invasion of the “Turks” lacks reference. It may refer to the battles between the Kara-Khanids and the Gaochang kingdom, which lasted almost

1 Hadani Ryotai (羽溪了諦), *Buddhism in the Northwest (Seiki no Bukkyō 西域之佛教)*, trans. He Changqun (賀昌羣) (Beijing: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1956), 290.

two centuries, and their fate was not given to the annexation of Moghulistan until the thirteenth century. It can be concluded that the description of the people of Kucha being converted to Islam does not hold.

The other explanation proposed by Huang Wenbi (黃文弼) dates the introduction of Islam to Kuqa around the 13th Century; the evidence stems from the mausoleum, albeit in ruins, of Arshad-ud-Din near Kuqa. The site of the mausoleum has been mentioned in historical records which stated that at the northern ridge of the sand dunes, there was a mausoleum in which an ancestor of the Uyghurs was buried; in the west corridor a plaque was hung with Chinese characters, 天方列聖 (*Tianfangliesheng*, the Saints of Mecca), and in the margins was written:

The old Kucha kingdom, in the times of Emperor Lizong of the Northern Song, recorded sage Malana [Māwlāna—a Sufi master] E'shiding [Ashiddin] coming from thousands of miles away and converting the Moghuls in the hundreds of thousands, making a great and righteous event. I, in my good fortune, have found and visited such a mausoleum with gratitude while awaiting an imperial decree of duty shift to elsewhere. It is my pleasure to offer a few words with the intention of honouring him. *Li Fan, Former Magistrate of Tongzhi Street, Zhili Prefecture, Late Autumn in 1881 AD.*

Huang, after having searched the site described above, concludes that “the exact date of the first introduction of Islam to Kucha is around Emperor Lizong of Northern Song (1225–1364 AD). He added, “before the Northern Song, there was a watershed moment of Buddhism replacing Islam in Kucha; the scripts related to the mausoleum provide evidence of the dates of the first introduction of Islam called into question.”² Holding this evidence, cultural heritage and related management departments in Xinjiang dated the ruins to the Northern Song Dynasty.

Providing the basic facts in relation to the mausoleum, Huang rightly judges the dates, but the scripts inked by Li Fang (as signature) contain several obvious mistakes. Arshad-ud-Din and Tughlugh Timur were contemporaries. Mirza Muhammad Haidar has provided further details on their relationship.³ Arshad-ud-Din is the son of Sheikh Jamal al Din, Tughlugh Timur's religious

2 Huang Wenbi (黃文弼), *Archeological Records in the Tarim Basin (Talimu Pendi kouguyi 塔里木盆地考古記)* (Beijing: Kexue chubanshe, 1954), 31.

3 Mirza Muhammad Haidar, *The Tarikh-i-Rashidi (Zhongya Mengwuer shi—Lashide shi 中亞蒙兀兒史—拉失德史)*, trans. Edward Denison Ross (Urumqi: Xinjiang renmin chubanshe, 1983), Vol. 1, 159–165.

teacher. Tughlugh Timur converted to Islam in 1354 AD at the age of twenty-four, and even Arshad-ud-Din, in witnessing the former's pronounced devotion to Islam, was not older than 30 years of age. The dates are inconsistent with the period of Emperor Lizong, with a considerable gap of 100 years. The hypothesis put forward by Huang, therefore, does not hold. Even worse, these untenable assertions are cited in books, journals and other relevant documents, thereby obfuscating the truth of the matter.

Located at the southern landscapes of Tian Shan and the northern edges of the Tarim Basin, Kuqa was the cultural center of the Silk Road and once the center of Buddhism that lasted for centuries. This central importance of Kuqa nurtured the finest traditions of Kucha Buddhism, seen in both well-preserved and ruined caves. Such large scale remains and the artistic values expressed in these caves are evidence that Kucha was a popular center without dispute. But how was Kucha turned from a popular and important Buddhist center to one annexed by Islamic territory? The most common view on this was the disappearance of Xinjiang Buddhism as a promoting factor of Islam in that area. In other words, the rise of Islam coincided with the decline of Buddhism, and Kuqa was no exception. Based upon the author's research, and the historical and geographical peculiarities of Kuqa as outlined above, the chapter proposes a set of explanations that precisely capture significant events in relation to the rise and decline of Buddhism, and in relation to the historical turning points of Xinjiang religions.

1 Period of the Kara-Khanids

Islam never crossed the eastern borders of the Kara-Khanids, i.e., the borders between Aqsu and Baicheng, and Kucha remained intact as a Buddhist state at the time. Before the extermination of Khotan, there was a tripartite division of rulers in Xinjiang, namely the Kara-Khanids, Khotanese, and Gaochang Uyghurs. The borders of the Kara-Khanids edged Lake Balkhash to the north; the Amu Darya River to the west and southwest, neighboring the Ghaznavid Dynasty and the Khorasan region. Facing east, the Kara-Khanids drew a border with the Kingdom of Qocho, or the state of Gaochang Uyghur (高昌回鹘國) (of the territory belonging to the Xizhou Uyghurs, 西州回鹘), and in the south with Khotan. The borders of Khotan were based upon the city areas of Yarkant, Yecheng, and Khotan, and extended eastward to Qiemo. Gaochang Uyghurs occupied the land in the South of the Dzungar Basin, the Turfan Basin and the North of the Tarim Basin. Having annexed Khotan, Kara-Khanids contested with Gaochang Uyghurs. According to atlases of Central Asia from the

11th Century, the Kara-Khanid Khanate bordered Qiemo, keeping them contained within the present-day Aqsu and Baicheng with the interruption of the Gobi desert in which it shared territory with the Gaochang Uyghurs.⁴ Kucha was part of the Gaochang territories, more than 200 km westward of Aqsu. These borderlines remained for a long time.

The Kara-Khanids thoroughly converted everyone within the territories that they occupied to Islam, including the annexed Khotanese; but Kucha remained under the territorial influence of the Kingdom of Qocho. By the 11th Century AD, Kucha Buddhism was still in its heyday. Historical documents on the Northern Song show frequent exchanges between Kucha and Chinese Buddhist monasteries. On 26 June 1003 AD, a Kucha monk came to the capital and offered relics as tributary gifts, including Bodhi leaf prints for books, prayer beads and *śarīra* (the relics that remain, usually in forms of crystals and stones, after the cremation of a highly venerated monk). In return, the imperial court of the Northern Song presented gifts of highly valued cloaks and waist bands for monks.⁵ In the second lunar month of 1010 AD, Kucha sent the monk, Zhiyuan, as an emissary and presented amber as a tributary gift. In the seventh lunar month of 1021 AD, a mandarin named Bai Wenjin revealed to the imperial court that Yanfu and others from Kucha had forged their identities as emissaries in order to exchange gifts of precious scriptures and golden statues. After hearing the this, Emperor Zhenzong of the Northern Song ordered an investigation and, “banned the entry of Kucha people for tributes for one or two years.” In June, 1022, Monk Huayan from Kucha came to the Northern Song and gifted *Śarīra* and bookholders for Sanskrit scriptures. Between 1023–1037 AD, Kucha monks paid tributes to the Northern Song five times. In return, Kucha monks received A Canon of Buddhist Scripture (*Fojingyizang* 佛經一藏). In 1096 AD, the highest leader of Kucha, Alirosa, and two other men came to the Northern Song, and presented a gift of a jadeite Buddha statue and a script praising the greatness of Northern Song.⁶ As we have seen, until the end of the 11th Century AD, Kucha was still ruled by the Buddhists, and the monks enjoyed high status in Kucha. Later, due to the constant wars between the Northern Song and other steppe empires, the exchanges between Northern

4 Wei Liangan (魏良按), *History of Kara-Khanid Empire (Kalahanchao shigao* 喀喇汗朝史稿) (Urumqi: Xinjiang renmin chubanshe, 1986), 63.

5 Xu Song (徐松), “Barbarians (*fanyī* 蕃夷),” in *An Encyclopedia of Laws and Rituals of Song (Song huiyao jigao* 宋會要輯稿) (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1957), roll 4.

6 Atutu (脫脫) et al., “Records of Kucha (*Qiuci Zhuan* 龜茲傳),” in *History of Song (Songshi* 宋史) (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1977), roll 490.

Song and Kucha were interrupted, and thereby virtually no or very few records have been found.

Kara-Khanids waged frequent wars with the Gaochang Uyghurs, and both sides took turns winning or being defeated. In one war (circa 1017 AD), 300,000 Gaochang men marched to Kashghar, and after 1041 AD, the Kara-Khanid Khanate was divided into eastern and western halves, marking a gradual decline of the empire with a concurrent ebb in its influence. Subsequently, in the 12th Century, the Western Liao became a power in the northwest, though both the Kara-Khanids and Gaochang maintained their borders within Aqsu and Baicheng, separating the powers of Muslims and Buddhists in the region.

2 Early Period of Western Liao and the Mongols

In analyzing the religious settings of the Western Liao and the Mongols, Wilhelm Barthold argued that

The very civilized Uyghurs constructed a defensive wall against the invasion of Islamic forces advancing East, and that made such invasion, compared to other Islamic invasions, more difficult. Even under the rule of the Mongols, the Islamic borders only reached the eastern edge of Kucha, the same border that existed in the times of Mahmud ibnu l-Hussayn ibn Muhammad al-Kasgari. The only report related to this is one in which there appeared a Muslim hero from Kucha who fought against the Uyghurs who had long enjoyed peace though they were vulnerable to invaders. Awarding the hero for his help to the state, Kachgar Khan conferred on him a khanship. Later, Qiemo became annexed as an Islamic city at the time of Mahmūd al-Kasgari, and later still, in the 13th Century AD, when Marco Polo came to the East, residents around Lop Nur were converted to Islam.⁷

Mahmud al-Kasgari, the Turkic lexicologist, lived in the 11th Century AD. As previously mentioned, the Chinese records of the Northern Song have provided ample evidence of Kucha Buddhism that shows that Kucha was not invaded and occupied by Muslims. This anecdote from Barthold only indicates that there was a legend of an Islamic leader who fought against the Kuchans,

7 Wilhelm Barthold, *Twelve Lectures on the History of Turks in Central Asia* (*Zhongyua Tujueshi shierjiang* 中亞突厥史十二講), trans. Luo Zhiping (羅致平) (Beijing: China Social Sciences Press, 1984), 135–136.

assisting the Kara-Khanids to defeat Kucha. In relation to his assistance, Muslim historians would later depict him as a Turkic Muslim hero, but the whole story has only provided evidence of the victory of the Kara-Khanids over the Uyghurs in a battle.

During the Western Liao, both the Kara-Khanids and Gaochang Uyghurs were annexed by the Western Liao, whose populations by and large believed in Buddhism with margins of tolerance for other religions. The existence of Islam in this context, therefore, allowed for other religions in the same territories. This religious tolerance suggests that the Buddhists of the Western Liao shared their religious tradition with Kuqa inhabitants. The widespread preaching of Buddhism from Western Liao, however, did not alter the social structure of Kuqa, where Buddhist monks maintained power and high social status, whereas the common people were converted to Islam in its growing popularity.

3 Period of the Chaghatái Khanate

Later, Gaochang Uyghurs were annexed by Genghis Khan, who granted them the right to live in their original place. Around 1280 AD, the Chaghatái Khan Duwa (died 1307 AD) attacked Kara-Khwajah (Gaochang) and then occupied the entirety of Uyghur Khaganate (Kingdom of Qocho in the Yuan dynasty), previously annexed to Kublai Khan. The Kara-Khanids were exterminated by the army of Küchlüg, the prince of the Naiman tribe. Like their predecessors, the Western Liao, the Mongols were lenient rulers who allowed the ruled to choose their own religions. Inter-religious hostilities and killing were not allowed when the Mongols ruled. During Mongol rule, the religious settings of Xinjiang became active and much more complex. Islam could be preached in the heart of Kara-Khwajah, while Buddhism and Nestorianism were preached in Kashgar and Yarkant. In *Journey to the East*, Marco Polo describes the co-residency of Muslims, Nestorians and Buddhists in one city.⁸ In the rule of Möngke Khan, Uyghur Buddhist noblemen in Bechbaliq secretly plotted to kill Muslims.⁹ The plot illustrates the perceptual threat Muslims were perceived to represent to Gaochang Buddhists. The threat intensified as the Buddhist influence in Gaochang declined. The gradual circulation of Islam in the Ming

8 Marco Polo, *Travels of Marco Polo (Makeboluo youji 馬可波羅遊記)*, trans. Chen Kaijun (陳開俊) et al. (Fuzhou: Fujian kexue jishu chubanshe, 1981), 33–36.

9 J.A. Boyle Joveynai, *Tarikh-i jahangusha (Shijie zhengfuzhe shi 世界征服者史)* trans. He Gaoji (何高濟) (Huhehaote: Nei Menggu renmin chubanshe, 1980), 55–59.

Dynasty, though occurring through peaceful means, was under the protection of the Ming authorities as a result of mutual respect and co-presence of all religions in the kingdom. As the Ming declined, however, the state of religious tolerance was no longer sustained and followed, in Xinjiang after the Ming, with Islam later developing through strong-arm tactics and coercive and violent means. This was in stark contrast to the early Ming, during which Kucha Buddhism did not completely vanish (in the 12th–13th Century AD).

4 The Extinction of Kuqa Buddhism

Kuqa Buddhism began to decline with the rise of the Eastern Chaghatai khanate [Moghulistan] in the times of Tughlugh Timur (1329–1363). Despite the majority of collected materials being based on folk stories, Huang Wenbi's study on Arshad-ud-Din is still reliable. According to historical documents, after having persuading Tughlugh Timur to convert to Islam, Arshad-ud-Din lived in Almalik for another year. Later, he asked Tughlugh Timur's permission to preach in Kuqa, because Almalik, as a center of the nomads, had yet to set up mosques for the Muslim congregation. The absence of mosques and the related system in the region restricted Arshad-ud-Din and his family from winning over and controlling believers with whom to form a strong bond, and from receiving income via the *waqf* (communal properties) system. Taking advantage of Kuqa's geographical location and religious trend (Islam was taking over Buddhism), Arshad-ud-Din aimed at further preaching Islam and establishing a religious domain controlled by his family in the region.

Tughlugh Timur gave generous support to Arshad-ud-Din's preaching in Kuqa and Timur later advocated Islam to the inhabitants he ruled. Furthermore, he ordered an envoy with 50 missionaries to accompany Arshad-ud-Din to Kuqa, including a retinue of sheikhs, *mufti*, *qadi*, *imam*, *muadhdhin*, *huffz* and other ranks, all of whom were from various places in Central Asia. The group was called "Kuqa Islamic group" and its organization was then subdivided into proselytising, judiciary, *madrasah* and *waqf* duties. The group was not a sect, but existed to promoting Islam generally. Officially authorized and supported by Tughlugh Timur, they were allowed to take livestock from the royal treasury to recoup the expenses of the missionary activity.

After arriving in Kuqa, Arshad-ud-Din and his Islamic group were well received by the Sufi master, Sheikh Nizar-ud-Din and this encouraged their religious proselytising: constructing mosques, setting up magistrates and *madrasah*. Among these, one *madrasah* was best known for its quantity and quality of teaching activities: it nurtured 72 *mawlana* and

237 *mullah*.¹⁰ The preachers distributed brochures of Sufism and Islamic scriptures, and “cajoled the passers-by into reciting *Shahadah* on the corners and lanes in a way that made the people frenetic; those who confirmed their belief in Allah were absolved of paying taxes while those who refused to be converted were subject to beatings and other illegal treatment.”¹¹

Meanwhile, the preachers actively demolished all Buddhist monasteries or converted them into mosques. The *qadi* (a judge ruling in accordance with Islamic religious law) magistrates convicted infidels, including Buddhist monks, without indicating specific charges, according to the *fiqh*, and would arbitrarily slaughter them if they resisted. Those monks who were unwilling to be converted, as such, fled to Turfan. In the same period, circa 1360, as he journeyed on his western invasion (at what is now the area of the Syr and the Amur Rivers), noblemen rebelled against Tughlugh Timur. Buddhists in Kuqa took this opportunity to join the rebels in Almalik, but they were quickly suppressed by Timur’s forces. According to sources, a total of over 10,000 men joined the rebels and they were later dispelled to foreign lands. Around 4,000 were deported to present-day northern of Afghanistan via Khotan, and others were deported through Dunhuang and toward Jiuquan, Gansu. After the deportations, the Buddhist influences on Kuqa disappeared, with all those remaining converted to Islam, bringing an end to the period of Kucha Buddhism.

In the views of many archeologists doing research on Kuqa, the monasteries and caves were deserted after the Ming Dynasty with ample evidence suggesting human destruction. Taking the Kizil Caves in Baicheng County, as an example, they were built, at the earliest, “in the late Eastern Han Dynasty, and were left unused and ruined in the Ming Dynasty . . . They also confirm that the Buddhist caves were destroyed and left in ruins sometime between the Yuan and the Ming Dynasties (circa 14th Century AD).”¹² This conclusion is consistent with the legends about the decline and ruin of Buddhism and the rise of Islam in Kuqa.

10 “Biography of Arshad-ud-Din” (*Eshidinghezhuo zhuan* 額什丁和卓傳), *Xinjiang Religious Studies Information* (*Xinjiang zongjiao yanjiu ziliao* 新疆宗教研究資料) 16 (Jan 1988): 32.

11 Yusuf Bek (玉素甫伯克), *The spread of Islam in Xinjiang* (*Yisilan jiao zai Xinjiang de chuanbo* 伊斯蘭教在新疆的傳播) (Xinjiang: Xinjiang shehui kexueyuan zongjiao yanjiusuo, n.d.).

12 Yan Wenru (閻文儒), “Rock-cut Caves in the South Tian Shan Circuit (*Tian Shan yinan de shiku* 天山以南的石窟),” in *Xinjiang archaeology in three decades* (*Xinjiang kaogu sanshinian* 新疆考古三十年) (Urumqi: Xinjiang renmin chubanshe, 1983), 569, 581.

Section 3



A Tentative Analysis of the Struggle and Impact between the White Mountain Khwajas and the Black Mountain Khwajas in the Qing Dynasty

Chen Huisheng

Abstract

This chapter analyses the historical struggles between the White Mountain Khwajas and Black Mountain Khwajas, the formation of which contributed to the development of Islam in Xinjiang. Not only do the struggles show the groups' disagreements on certain religious principles but also their attempts to gain political power in south Xinjiang. The chapter focuses upon the process and the aftermath of their struggles, including later rebellions launched by Burhan al-Din and Khwaja-i Jahan, Jahangir Khwajah, and the Seven Khwajas. These rebellions, as this chapter points out, were attempts to create separatist movements against national unification and disrupt ethnic solidarity in China; they ultimately affected Xinjiang in terms of economy and culture.

Keywords

Qing Dynasty – White Mountain Khwajas – Black Mountain Khwajas

1

The Black Mountain Khwajas (Qarataghliq) and the White Mountain Khwajas (Aqtaghliq)¹ were two major sects in Islam. Their struggles against each other had historical significance in the developmental history of Xinjiang Uyghurs.

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Their formation was not concurrent with the first instance of Islam in Xinjiang, but resulted after the later, rapid, development of Islam in the region that occurred not long after it was introduced.

Buddhism dominated the region until the Northern Song in the 10th Century AD, after Islam was introduced. Satuq Bughra Khan (920–958 AD) was the first to be converted to Islam and he led the strongest empire of the Uyghurs. Because of his strong leadership, his conversion was significant for the circulation of Islam. The Kara-Khanids under Satuq Bughra Khan and his successors compelled, through violence, the people they ruled to be converted to Islam. Buddhists and believers of other religions were converted to Islam and the Islamic development of Kashgar, Yarkant, Khotan and other surrounding regions was based upon this conquering model. In the early 15th Century AD, with the exception of east Xinjiang where the Uyghurs believed in Buddhism, all other Uyghurs in the south and north regions of Tian Shan had been converted to Islam. They were characterized as “fanatic zealots, with their absolute devotion and in their unquestionable faith.”² After the late 15th Century AD, Islam extended its influence into the regions of Hami and Turfan, and “Buddhism was completely expelled and replaced by Islam.”³ Since then, Islam has become the dominant religion of Xinjiang.

One important point has to be noted here: the rapid development of Islam in the Uyghur regions was characterized by the waging of religious wars, or jihad, through which even larger territories and soon-to-be Muslims were obtained. The first dynasty to hold Islamic beliefs was the Kara-Khanid Khanate. Suleyman Arslan Khan (958–970 AD), the grandson of Satuq Bughra Khan, led his army and conquered Shule. Between the 10th and 11th Centuries, Yusuf Qadir Khan led forty thousand men to take Khotan, and the jihad lasted 24 years. As a result, all survivors became Muslim. Later, the descendants of the Chaghatai Dynasty in South Xinjiang similarly converted their neighbors by violent means.

1981). Some revisions to personal names and texts have been made before this chapter has been published here.

- 1 The White and Black Mountain Khwajas were called “white-capped” and “black-capped” Hui respectively. These names were only used by outsiders; in fact, the White Mountain Khwajas called themselves al-Miskiyya or Misikeye (米斯克耶); the Black Mountain Khwajas, Ishaqis or Yisihakaye (伊斯哈克耶).
- 2 Zhang Xinglang (張星烺), *A Compilation of the Historical Resources of Communication between China and the West* (Zhongxi jiaotong shiliao huibian 中西交通史料汇编), vol. 2.
- 3 Ibid.

At the beginning of the 17th Century AD, Makhdumi Azam (Ahmad Kasani, the Great Master), his first son Ishan-i Kalan, and his seventh son Ishaq Beg travelled from Mecca and the Pamir Plateau and eastwards to Kashgar. Makhdumi Azam proclaimed himself as a descendant of the Prophet Muhammad. He and his offspring, after having settled in Kashgar, encouraged fanatical worship and made several significant changes to the Yarkant Khanate.

The first change promoted Islam's development in south Xinjiang as the Yarkant Khanate made Islam the official religion. According to one historical source, "Now what the Hui believe starts from what Muhammad Yusuf (son of Ishan-i Kalan and grandson of Makhdumi Azam) preached."⁴ Nonetheless, taking Muhammad Yusuf as the starting point of Islamic teachings in Xinjiang contravenes the historical evidence that dates the start of Islam's development in China, however Muhammad Yusuf and his predecessors, after having come to Kashgar, marked a new development for the religion's spread. Other sources suggest, in speaking of "the Kingdom of Hui from Mecca, westwards from the Yarkant. "It is believed that it first sent *malā'ika* [angels] in the 44th year of Qianlong (1779 AD) for a total of 1,193 years."⁵ This so-called "rise of Islam" was marked by the period after the coming of the *malā'ika* to China.

The second change affected the Yarkant Khanate which had Islamic leaders. Muhammad Yusuf and his predecessors as being the descendants of *ghambar*, (also called "angel"), came to Kashgar, and were thus revered as leaders by local Muslims. This historical narration was recorded by Wei Yuan in detail, who wrote, "At the times of Xu and Tang, the 'King' Muhammad⁶ was born from the spirits, and made the kingdoms of the West Borders subservient to Him, thereby replacing Buddhism with His religion. He wrote thirty something Holy Scripts, ordered His adherent to worship Heaven, required them to fast, and sent His angel, Jibril to preach and promote Islam. He handed down His Holy descendents to His twenty-sixth generation, a man called Muhammad⁷ in the time of the late Ming Dynasty. Muhammad and his brethren came from the West, having started their journey from Medina⁸ via the Pamir to Kashgar.

4 Xiao Xiong (蕭雄), *Xijiang Miscellaneous Writings and Poetries* (*Xijiang za shu shi* 新疆雜述詩) (Chengdu: Sichuan minzu chubanshe, 2002), roll 3.

5 Fu Heng (傅恆) et al., *Map of Western Countries* (*Qinding Huangyu Xiyu tuzhi* 欽定皇輿西域圖志) (Shanghai: Shanghai Classics Publishing House, 1987), roll 48.

6 Here the translated terms refer to: Wei Yuan (魏源), *The Sacred Wars* (*Shengwuji* 聖武記) (Beijing: Zhonghua Shuju, 1984), roll 4. In Wei Yuan's translation, Muhammad was written in Chinese as (*Mohanmode* 漠罕焉德).

7 Muhammad is Muhammad Yusuf in Wei Yuan's translation.

8 Medina is now in Saudi Arabia.

Their arrival in Kashgar marked the beginning of the tradition of the Xinjiang Hui nomads and the ancestors of Khwajah Khwaja-i Jahan and spread their regional and religious influence.”⁹ The beginning of the Xinjiang Hui nomads, as the text shows, indicates that the Muslim leaders of south Xinjiang appeared after the arrival of Muhammad Yusuf and his predecessors, who were later revered as leaders by Muslims in south Xinjiang. Their reverence and popularity were shown by the fact that “Muhammad (Yusuf) arrived and the adherents crowded around him.”¹⁰ The popularity of Muhammad and his ancestors also laid the foundation for their influential descendants in the future.

The third change was the cleavage of two sects that followed this lineage, namely the Black and the White Mountain Khwajas. The struggles, and thereafter, the purges, of the religious sects intensified from time to time and the rift between the Black and the White Mountain Khwajas appeared in such context. Ishan-i Kalan, the son of Makhdumi Azam and the father of Muhammad Yusuf, founded the White Mountain Khwajas, whereas the seventh son of Makhdum, Ishaq Beg founded the Black Mountain Khwajas. “The clans of Muhammad” accordingly “were then split in two lineages: one was called ‘white’ and the other called ‘black,’ or they were called ‘white capped Hui’ (*baimao Huizi* 白帽回子) or ‘black capped Hui’ (*heimao Huizi* 黑帽回子) respectively.” What “White Mountain Khwajas” means is their adherents wear white caps, being dubbed as “white capped Hui” or “descendants of the White Mountain; likewise for the Black Mountain Khwajas with their black caps. These two sects did not differ greatly in their religious principles, with variations only in their rituals and performance. The notable difference, as I stress here, is the White Mountain Khwajas performed their silent *dhikr* (or *jike’er* 即克爾, meaning remembrance, reminder, or evocation), as opposed to the vocal *dhikr* that the Black Mountain Khwajas opted for and practiced. These two sects “made walls and excluded infidels and other sects, bullying them by taking advantage of their small number.”¹¹ The pair even furiously rivalled each other, ruthlessly leading to bloodshed.

Therefore, the origin of their rift and constant rivalry was, by and large, political. In other words, their rivalry was not exactly based upon differences in their religious doctrines and principles, but rather in their political interests in controlling territory in south Xinjiang. As a result, they had an eye-for-an-eye policy, and forbade cross marriage. “The black and white caps excluded

9 Wei Yuan (魏源), *The Sacred Wars* (*Shengwuji* 聖武記) (Beijing: Zhonghua Shuju, 1984), roll 4.

10 Ibid.

11 *Records of Policy in Hui* (*Huibu zhengsuji* 回部政俗記). (N.p: n.p., n.d.).

each other according to their religious categories, such that any person, if identified as an outsider from a rival village, would not be allowed entry. They kept away from any connection with the rivals, not proposing any cross marriage, and everlastingly cast doubt upon their rivals.”¹² “Both the white caps and the black caps are lifelong enemies.”¹³ Another historical text points out that, “In the surrounding areas of Kashgar, the sects are divided into Black and White Mountain Khwajas, or black and white caps. The Khwajah who led the white caps was Khwaja-i Jahan; the black caps, however, were exterminated by these white caps and these two groups split.”¹⁴ The plain fact was that these sects did part, but it is incorrect to say, “the black caps were exterminated by these white caps,” instead, what occurred, was that the White Mountain Khwajas took the upper hand of ruling over south Xinjiang. The relative advantages taken by either the Black or the White Mountain Khwajas lay in their final grasp of ruling power. When the White Mountain Khwajas ruled, they said “their adherents greatly outnumbered the black caps,”¹⁵ but the Black Mountain Khwajas would say, of themselves “they hide and become *akhund* (*ahong*), reciting Holy Scriptures and doing good.”¹⁶ In other words, the black caps maintained a low profile. Later, when the Black Mountain Khwajas seized power from the White Mountain Khwajas, ousting them from office, then the report of who outnumbered who was changed.¹⁷ According to Young John Allen, (1836–1907 AD) the rift and rivalry of the two camps lasted for three centuries, tragically slaughtering each other through continuous conflicts.¹⁸ All in all, the conflicts of the Black and the White Mountain Khwajas have had a deep impact on the historical development of the Uyghurs.

2

Both the Black and White Mountain Khwajas proclaimed themselves as *sayyid* (descendants of Muhammad). Khwajahs saw themselves as “the descendants

12 Cao Zhenyong (曹振鏞) et al., *Military Strategies of Suppressing Traitor in Hui* (*Qinding pingding Huijiang jiaoqin niyi fanglue* 欽定平定回疆剿擒逆裔方略) (Beijing: Beijing chubanshe, 2000), roll 37.

13 Ibid., roll 79.

14 *Essentials to Defend* (*Shou cheng ji yao* 守城輯要) vol. 2. (N.p: n.p., n.d.).

15 See n. 10, *supra*.

16 *Essentials to Defend* (*Shou cheng ji yao* 守城輯要) vol. 2. (N.p: n.p., n.d.).

17 See n. 10, *supra*.

18 Young John Allen, *Brief Discussion on Kashgar* (*Kashga'er luelun* 喀什噶爾略論) (Hong Kong: Fuchi College Publishing Ltd, 2010).

of Jibril,” and thus “they were called Khwajahs, a direct translation of *sayyid*, and were seen as nobles by the Muslim Uyghurs, who adhered to their teachings.”¹⁹ The ruling parties of the White and Black Mountain Khwajas made full use of *sayyid* status in order to impress and influence the Uyghur Muslims, thereby seizing political power in south Xinjiang. The rift, triggered by the struggles between these White and Black Mountain Khwajas intensified, and thus military conflicts developed as a result. No doubt, the rift exterminated the Yarkant Khanate, followed by subsequent rebels such as Jahangir Khwajah (1820–1828 AD), Khwajah Yusuf in (1830 AD), and the Revolt of Seven Khwajahs (1847 AD). According to *A Brief Discussion on Kashgar* (*Kashigaer luelun* 喀什噶爾略論) by Young John Allen, those who proclaimed themselves as *sayyid* “used their entitlements to mobilize the Muslim masses” and “took opportunities to rebel for their own plots,” and those who “offended the borders by force several times were Khwaja-i Jahan and his (elder) brother, Jahangir, Yusuf and others, known for their leadership of rebels.” Disregarding their dividing of the country, the intent of mobilizing and organizing these rebels was an obvious barrier to national unification, contributed to the destruction of national solidarity, and perpetuated the suffering which the Uyghurs bore heavily.

By the mid 17th Century, after the rise of the Dzungars, the White and Black Mountain Khwajas kept their vested interest in feudal landlordship and in the name of fighting for religious beliefs, they furiously plotted against each other for the rulership over Altishahr (the Six Cities) in South Xinjiang. Afaq Khwajah, after becoming the successor of the White Mountain Khwajas, was, with his group, openly rejected by Kashgar’s Abd al-Latif Anak Khan (1605–1631 AD) who actually supported Afaq’s opponents, the Black Mountain Khwajas which later consequently became the ruling party in Yarkant. Being in a disadvantageous scenerio, Afaq was expelled and fled to Ili in north Xinjiang and requested support from and revenge on the Black Mountain Khwajas by the Dzungars, and the Oirat tribes. Afaq’s request was consistent with the Dzungars’ intent to conquer the Altishahr and they led a joint army in the 17th Year of Kangxi (1678 AD), climbed over the Tian Shan range, defeated the Black Mountain Khwajas and overthrew the Chaghatai in Yarkant. The White Mountain Khwajas and the Dzungars kept hostages, and imprisoned the Khan of Yarkant and his family in Ili. Their imprisonment ended the rule of the Chaghatai over the Uyghurs in south Xinjiang, and replaced them with the Dzungars. In regard to the Dzungars’ annexation of South Xinjiang, Afaq was conferred his khanate, legitimizing his rule over the Uyghurs.

19 Ibid.

Nonetheless, Afaq's rule did not end the continuous conflicts between the White and the Black Mountain Khwajas. Their struggles experienced "cyclical ebb and flow" and led to "riots and disruptions for many years".²⁰ No doubt, the White Mountain Khwajas kept the upper hand against the Black Mountain Khwajas and ruled over south Xinjiang. In the 32nd Year of Kangxi (1693 AD), Afaq died and Khwajah Yahya succeeded the throne. Shortly afterwards, Yahya was replaced by his son, Muhammad. At that point, the Dzungars acceded to the succession of Khwajahs in south Xinjiang because they thought those *sayyids* of the Malmud family were the true descendants of saints that were revered by the masses in south Xinjiang and who had the support of the Uyghurs. Therefore, Afaq as the agent of the Dzungars was "authorized to manage the Uyghur Hui" in the Altishahr.²¹ In the 35th Year of Kangxi (1696 AD), the Qing finally and completely defeated the Dzungars. At the same time, Yahya's son, Muhammad, made use of his prestige and set up an independent Islamic state, but in the 39th Year (1700 AD), Tsewang Rabtan (d. 1727 AD) re-established the Dzungar Khanate and re-annexed south Xinjiang. He promptly identified Muhammad's intention to separate from the rule of the Dzungars,²² and modified the original policy on ruling south Xinjiang, thereby ousting Muhammad from his khanate and imprisoning him in Ili,²³ though he "let his two sons return to their own land for supervising thousands of Uyghurs in farming and mining."²⁴ Afterwards, the power of the Black Mountain Khwajas rose again and was backed by Tsewang Rabtan's son, Galdan Tseren (d. 1745 AD), who ordered Khwajah Damiyal, the leader of the Black Mountain Khwajas, to rule over Xinjiang. In other words, the White Mountain Khwajas retracted their power and were left in a disadvantageous position.

The reclamation of the Black Mountain Khwajas' rule over Xinjiang hinged upon the support of Tsewang Rabtan and his son, and yet continued their tyranny in ruling over Xinjiang. Their tyranny included looting, exploitation and other means of extortion.²⁵

20 Zhang Xinglang (張星烺), *A Compilation of the Historical Resources of Communication between China and the West* (Zhongxi jiaotong shiliao huibian 中西交通史料汇编), vol. 2.

21 Qishiyi (七十一), *Experience in Western Countries* (Xiyu wen jian lu 西域聞見錄) (Lanzhou: Lanzhou guji shudian, 1990), roll 6.

22 Ibid.

23 Ibid.

24 See n. 7, *supra*.

25 Gong Cai (龔柴), *Exploration in North and South of Tian Shan* (Tianshan nanbeilu koule 天山南北路考略) (Tianjin: Tianjin guji shudian, 1987).

When the White or the Black Mountain Khwajas ousted each other from their ruling positions, they each sought external forces of support at the expense of the lives and assets of civilians in order to legitimize their positions as the state agents of south Xinjiang with their privileged tyrannical rule. The first tyranny over the Uyghurs by the White Mountain Khwajas lasted for 18 years. The White Mountain Khwajas aided the assigned officials from the Dzungars and extorted the land taxes of the people. The second tyranny lasted much longer, for fifty-five years, and this time the ruling Black Mountain Khwajas extorted the ruled Uyghurs in Xinjiang, exceeding what the White Mountain Khwajas had done before. Both the White and the Black Mountain factions alike disregarded the well-being of the people they ruled—the Uyghurs. The extortion of properties and land from the Uyghurs, metaphorically referred to as “draining the pond to catch the fish,”²⁶ was plainly condemned as barbarous and cruel. And yet, the extorting policy was not complete without the state agent of either the White or the Black Mountain Khwajas. In general, there were three ways of extortion: The first way was to require excessive taxes from the Uyghurs, whom the Dzungars treated as slaves and servants, with those taxes being charged annually.²⁷ Taking Yarkant for instance, Uyghurs were ordered to pay annual taxes on craft labour, households, cotton, red flowers, damask, gold mining, copper, livestock, carpets, fruit orchards, dried grapes, and many others, in an aggregated total of a hundred thousand taka (a taka was worth half silver tael, later revalued as one tael). In Kashgar, the taxes levied were worth 40,898 *padamah* (*Patema* 帕特瑪) (1 *padamah* was equal to 4 *dan* (石) and 5 *dou* (斗) in the Qing Dynasty).” The annual tax levied on each Uyghur peasant was fifty-five percent or more of their average annual income. Also, there was no official record on the discretionary levies paid in addition to their annual tax. According to several documents, the hundred thousand taka for the annual taxes was a term negotiated between the Black Mountain Khwajas and the Dzungars as a condition of the latter being the state agent. In other words, the Black Mountain Khwajas totally disregarded the lives and assets of the Uyghurs which were put on the negotiating table with the Dzungars.

The second, and more exploitive method of extortion was the implementation of serfdom, not only on Uyghurs’ own land; they were also expelled and subject to forced labor elsewhere.²⁸ Slavery aroused discontent among south Xinjiang people, who remembered such grievances without uttering a word.

26 See n. 7, *supra*.

27 *Brief Records of Xinjiang (Xinjiang ji lue 新疆記略)* (N.p: n.p., n.d.).

28 Fu, roll 12.

The White and Black Mountain Khwajas, however, kept their resolve, and even assisted the Dzungars to set up and run the cruel *corvée* system.

The third, and the most complicated and deliberate, way was to employ monetary measures by reassessing the value of coins owned and exchanged by the Uyghurs. Coins were confiscated and replaced with devalued “new coinage.”²⁹ “When a new leader was enthroned, coins were minted—changing the heads. For example, the first minting produced ten thousand coins for official exchanges that would replace two old coins with one new one,³⁰ thus old coins were “recycled” in the bazaars.” Such official monetary manipulation was given “legitimacy” by the Dzungars’ rule. The more often the rulers changed, the more, severe the affects upon the populace were.

In addition to the abovementioned forms of exploitation, the Dzungars politically oppressed the Uyghurs by various, violent means. In gangs of three or five, Dzungars, unbridled, pillaged the places where Uyghurs lived, raped women, looted livestock and other assets, and even massacred the Uyghurs. The heads of these gangs were unconditionally served with wine, meat and women. The Dzungars repaid those who served them by killing or inflicting bodily harm on those who dissatisfied them. As an eyewitness account reads, “the assigned, insatiable, Dzungar leaders were served with wine, meat and women. If what was offered was less than they expected, they began to loot.” “In the times of the Dzungars’ rule, *emirs* disturbed residents. They came to the places where Hui lived, in three or five, or in dozens, looting livestock and raping women. If what they looted was less than they expected, they slaughtered indiscriminately.”³¹

The Dzungars’ tyrannical rule, together with the Mountain Khwajas as their state agents, definitely aroused Uyghur resistance in south Xinjiang. The Mountain Khwajas were the accomplices of the tyranny that made the Uyghurs vengeful. Their vengefulness was recorded in various historical documents in which it was stated that, the Uyghurs in south Xinjiang “have endured the tyrannical rule of the Dzungars for decades, paid heavy taxes and other duties, resulting in destitution and longing for Qing rule.”³² The above quote illustrates two problems. First, that the Uyghurs were dissatisfied with and opposed the Dzungars’ rule. Their means of opposition varied from open protests to “self-defense” that fenced off the Dzungars and the Mountain Khwajas from looting, disturbing, raping and slaughtering. “If emirs come, men will run up to

29 Fu, roll 35.

30 Ibid.

31 Qishiye, roll 7.

32 Fu, roll 17.

the walled tower and have their livestock tethered in the stables underneath.”³³ The alternative, or more pessimistic, way to deal with such disturbances was to bury seeds of grains and other assets in the earth, and flee, vacating the households.³⁴ According to *Shengwuji*, the Dzungars often kidnapped women and children, and carried away livestock. Therefore the Hui households were arranged in labyrinths and mazes that sought to prevent looting.”³⁵ Second, their disturbances reflected that the Uyghurs longed for the Qing rule, their wish for national unification. When Kangxi’s army spearheaded and curbed the Dzungars, the Uyghurs voluntarily joined Qing forces against the Dzungars’ rule and jointly captured Dawachi (the last Dzungar Khan).³⁶ Resisting the Dzungars’ rule, the Uyghurs aiding the Qing were rewarded by the Qing court.³⁷

3

Regarding the conflicts with the Mountain Khwajas, the Qing did not have a definite plan or strategy to intervene in Xinjiang until after the surrender of Dawachi. The Qing’s initial plan, however, was to support the White Mountain Khwajas who ruled over south Xinjiang. But later the rebellion of Khwaja-i Jahan and his brother (*Daxiao hezhuo zhiluan* 大小和卓之亂) shocked Emperor Qianlong who decided to support the Black Mountain Khwajas instead.

In the 20th Year of Qianlong (1755 AD), the Qing pacified Dawachi and ended the Dzungar Khanate’s tyrannical rule over south Xinjiang. Considering the infamous Black Mountain Khwajas with the Dzungars, Qianlong ordered the General of Pacifying the North, Bandi (*Dingbei Jiangjun Bandili* 定北將軍班第), to release Burhan al-Din and Khwaja-i Jahan of the White Mountain Khwajas who had been imprisoned and send them back to their place of origin.³⁸

33 See n. 28, *supra*.

34 Qishiyi, rolls 2, 7.

35 See n. 7, *supra*.

36 Fu Hang et al., *Strategic Planning of suppressing the Dzungar* (*Pingding Zhunga'er fanghuae zhenpian* 平定准噶爾方略正編) (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1987), roll 12.

37 Ibid., roll 13.

38 Burhan al-Din and Khwaja-i Jahan were sons of Mohamamd of the White Mountain Khwajas, who was imprisoned by the Dzungars at Ili. Burhan al-Din and Khwaja-i Jahan were identified as “the elder Khwajah” and “the younger Khwajah” respectively. They were still captives of the Dzungar after their father’s death. See: He Ning (和甯), *History of Hui in Xinjiang* (*Hui jiang tong zhi* 回疆通志) (Lanzhou: Lanzhou guji chubanshe, 1990), roll 6.

The Qing opinion was that because local residents followed the White Mountain Khwajas,³⁹ it was believed that, based upon this religious affinity, Burhan al-Din and Khwaja-i Jahan administered the region “with prestige and legitimacy.”⁴⁰ As we have said before, “Because of their prestigious background (*Sayyid*), hundreds of thousands of households adore them immediately.”⁴¹ “Order them back to their places of origin,” and make them “feel the majestic grace offered to them, and unconditionally submit their subservience everlastingly.”⁴² In fact, in releasing them, the Qing court made use of Burhan al-Din and Khwaja-i Jahan for the annexation of south Xinjiang where the Uyghur people would be required to submit to Qing rule.⁴³

After being offered such “imperial benevolence,” not only did the Khwajah brothers show “no respect,” but they also declined to submit their subservience to the Qing. They instead raised their flag of “independence,” and attempted to establish an Islamic Khanate to fulfill the wishes of their predecessors—against the Qing rule. The shocked Emperor Qianlong, who accused them of disobedience and wrote that they “despise my majestic grace and plot against my court; each barbarian will be disciplined. They have only one choice: war.”⁴⁴

The initial plot was to let Burhan al-Din return to Yarkant and hold Khwaja-i Jahan, who led the Muslims at Ili, but Khwaja-i Jahan did not kowtow for Qing and secretly organized the rebels with Amursana. When later Qing forces suppressed these rebels, Khwaja-i Jahan fled from Ili to south Xinjiang lest he be found guilty of subversion, cajoling the Muslims in Altishahr [Tarim Basin] into a self-independence,⁴⁵ and creating an Islamic Kingdom. Burhan al-Din initially opposed the idea of building an Islamic Kingdom, but later was convinced by Khwaja-i Jahan in their impending political and military brinkmanship.

The so-called “Islamic Kingdom” advocated by Khwaja-i Jahan was an apparent religious polity separate from a unified China; it was a regime only representing the interest of upper class intellectuals and feudal leaders of Islam.

39 See n. 10, *supra*.

40 Fu Hang et al., *Strategic Planning of suppressing the Dzungar (Pingding Zhunga'er fanglue zhenpian 平定准噶尔方略正编)* (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1987), roll 14.

41 See n. 7, *supra*.

42 Fu Hang et al., *Strategic Planning of suppressing the Dzungar (Pingding Zhunga'er fanglue zhenpian 平定准噶尔方略正编)* (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1987), roll 47.

43 He, roll 12.

44 See n. 7, *supra*.

45 See n. 40, *supra*.

Henceforth, the ruling composition of this kingdom would not gain any support from the mass of Uyghurs. Their failure in history was determined.

In the 22nd Year of Qianlong (1757 AD), Khwaja-i Jahan and Burhan al-Din openly rebelled against the Qing government. It lasted for two years and four months. At the beginning, they defied Qianlong's order to kowtow before him in Peking. Burhan al-Din, proclaiming himself as Batur Khan, captured and killed a hundred Qing emissaries. He took the counsel of his affiliated groups and built up an "Islamic Kingdom," against Qing rule.

Initiated by Khwaja-i Jahan and Burhan al-Din, the rebels gained massive support from the prestigious name of *Sayyid*. *Beks* (or *beg*, meaning officials or leaders, from Turkish) and *ahongs* ordered the emirs to arm themselves, awaiting the orders of the Khwajah brothers. Hundreds of thousands of Muslims followed the military campaign they organized.⁴⁶ Such military mobilization was indefatigable, beginning from Yarkant, Kashgar, and Khotan all the way to north of Baicheng, Aksu, and Sayram by means of "sedition and the subsequent spread of riots."⁴⁷ In addition, the Khwajah brothers allied with the Oirats, the Andijans, and the Buluts (or the Kyrgyz people), but adopted a wait and see attitude towards the force in Ush Turfan.

No doubt, all things done by the Khwajah brothers, as described above, transgressed the limits of Qing tolerance. Qianlong, in his 23rd Year (1758 AD), ordered General Yarhasan, with more than 10,000 men, to war against the Khwajah brothers, but Yarhasan was defeated several times, and later beheaded. Qianlong then assigned General Zhao Hui (兆惠) to "pacify the rebels of the West."⁴⁸ The brothers, in their military strategies, opted for "thick walls and clear terrain" and "entrenchment" to consume and exhaust Qing garrisons, ultimately aiming for the latter's retreat. The strategies proved successful in the early stage; however, the Qing sent another convoy of 30,000 men to the West and plotted a two-pronged strategy: one wing, led by Zhuohui again, struck Kucha and spearheaded at Kashgar; the other wing, led by General Fu De, took Khotan and later Yarkant. The brothers finally had no means of defense and each "fled with his men and his flocks to the Pamir."⁴⁹ The brothers, trying hard to escape the Qing army, led an ever smaller group of followers of 1,200 men, eventually surrendering to Qing forces in Badakhshan (located in present-day Afghanistan). The Khwajah brothers, as a last resort, attempted to convince Said Sultan Shah into an alliance against the Qing but the Sultan refused their

46 See n. 18, *supra*.

47 See n. 40, *supra*.

48 See n. 7, *supra*.

49 Ibid.

request and imprisoned them instead.⁵⁰ Upon Qing request, Said Sultan Shah executed the brothers and the head of Khwaja-i Jahan was passed to Qing officials,⁵¹ thus ending the war that lasted for one year and three months.

The rebellion, waged by the Khwajah brothers, was a war fought by national separatists. Their deaths brought an end to the aggression. South Xinjiang rejoins as a member of the big family in the mother country.

From then on, the Qing did not trust the White Mountain Khwajas and turned, instead, to supporting the Black Mountain Khwajas, changing them from the oppressed to the ruling party.

Nonetheless, the Qing drew lessons from the rebellion and imposed tighter measures, if not outright oppression, on some leaders and *ahongs* of the White Mountain Khwajas. That included sending suspected leaders to Beijing for close surveillance. Qing officials tightened the control of *ahongs* and other believers by settling them in the outskirts of towns and restricting their movement.

In the aftermath of the unsuccessful rebellion, the son of Burhan al-Din, Sarimsak, and his fellows fled to Kokand (in modern Uzbekistan) and waited for another opportunity to rebel against the Qing.

At the same time, the nature of the conflict between the two Mountain Khwajas shifted to direct conflict between the White Mountain Khwajas and the Qing. The White Mountain Khwajas were displeased with both the Qing oppression of the Khwajah brothers and Qing support of the Black Mountain Khwajas. The White Mountain Khwajas taking advantage of Qing policy on Xinjiang, together with the fact that some in Xinjiang were discontent with Qing feudal rule and exploitation, incited rebellion against the Qing and colluded with foreign forces, such as Kokand and its British colonialists, thereby bringing out several rebellions against national unification. The subsequent rebels, such as Jahangir, Yusuf and the Seven Khwajahs, led separatist rebellions against national unity.

These subsequent rebellions exceeded the scope of rebels struggling against Qing oppression and exploitation as they colluded with foreign forces in order to destroy national harmony and unity, resulting in injustice and suffering from oppression. Several riots can be similarly characterized as destabilizing national unity. The destruction of national unity is important to reject.

⁵⁰ Wei, roll 12.

⁵¹ Due to the fact that the corpse of Burhan al-Din had been stolen, Said Sultan Khan of Badakhshan only passed the head of Khwaja-i Jahan to the Qing army. In the 28th Year of Qianlong (1763 AD), the corpse of Burhan al-Din "was finally returned" and passed to the Qing court.

Among these subsequent rebellions, the one led by Jahangir Khwaja⁵² was thought to have been the largest in scale, lasting almost 8 years. In the 25th Year of Jiaxing (1820 AD), Jahangir Khwaja instigated and led the rebellion by declaring his desire for revenge against the Qing for the deaths of his grandfathers, Khwaja-i Jahan and Burhan al-Din. His declaration was a clear act of subversion and separation from national unity. Jahangir Khwaja indicated he would “never forget that his grandfathers had laid the foundation of an Islamic Kingdom.”⁵³ Here “the foundation” means “the Islamic Kingdom envisioned by Muhammad, Khwaja-i Jahan and Burhan al-Din who plotted against the Qing. The basic composition of Jahangir Khwajah's force was Kokand, the Buluts, and last but not least, a large fraction of the White Mountain Khwajas. In the 4th Year of Daoguang (1826 AD), Jahangir Khwaja directed the rebel army that numbered in the tens of thousands and occupied the four cities in south Xinjiang (Kashgar, Yangisar, Yarkant and the capital of Khotan). In order to defeat Jahangir Khwaja's forces, the Qing mobilized its banners from Jilin, Heilongjiang, Shaanxi, Gansu and Sichuan with a total of 36,000 men and “consumed ten million taels.”⁵⁴ Finally in the 5th Year of Daoquang, Jahangir Khwaja was caught by the Qing General Zhang Ling in the Battle of Yangabad, and sent to Peking to be executed.

One thing is undeniable in this revolt: “rebels were in fact numerous.”⁵⁵ When Jahangir Khwaja paid visits to the *qubba* (or tomb) of his ancestors, he delivered his words of incitement that convinced the rural White Mountain Khwajas to join his rebellion. As a result, more adherents, “following his calling,” were “convinced to rebel”⁵⁶ against Qing expedition forces. There are three main reasons that Jahangir Khwaja could mobilize his men to rebel against the Qing. First, the Qing ruled over south Xinjiang with feudal oppression using such means as extortion and excessive taxation. Moreover, the Qing assigned

52 Jahangir Khwajah was the grandson of Burhan al-Din. After the revolts of Khwaja-i Jahan, and Burhan al-Din, Burhan al-Din's second son Samarsak passed through Badakhshan to Kokand, then conceived his own sons, Yusuf, Jahangir and Baruddin. When Jahangir was young, he went to Kabul, Afghanistan, to be educated, and finally made acquaintance with a British intelligence agent. It was alleged that Jahangir was incited by this agent, thereby revolting in Xinjiang (Translator's note: the historical source not given by the author). And then, acting as a military advisor of Jahangir (though it was alleged), the agent provided training and leadership to Jahangir's men. The Jahangir revolts began in January 1820 and ended in 1828 AD.

53 Cao, roll 12.

54 See n. 7, *supra*.

55 Cao, roll 73.

56 Ibid., rolls 12, 13.

untrustworthy officials, like Bingqing, the attaché of Kashgar, who gathered bandits and villains and was “addicted to women’s affairs and drinks,”⁵⁷ raping women and “maliciously insulting beggars and extorting more bribes from them.”⁵⁸ His misdeeds were never denied by the Qing court, “It is believed that the Jahangir Khwaja rebellion was induced by the misdeeds of Binqing.”⁵⁹ Wei Yuan spoke of the matter in a similar way, “Binqing, the attaché of the (Tian Shan) South Circuit, was licentious and disheartened the people over whom he ruled.”⁶⁰ The second reason was a matter of opportunism: the Black Mountain Khwajas took advantage of the Qing’s power to remove their enemy. In curbing the force of the White Mountain Khwajas, the Qing deliberately fostered the Black Mountain Khwajas whom the White Mountain Khwajas regarded as “oppositional and vengeful.”⁶¹ The third reason was the White Mountain Khwajas’ belief in scriptures and the words of sheikhs. Jahangir Khwaja proclaimed himself as the descendant of Paighambar (*Pai Han Ba Er* 牌罕巴爾, meaning messenger or prophet, and usually referring to Muhammad), and the leader of the White Mountain Khwajas, thereby not merely “extorting money and other favors in his proclamation as the Khwaja,”⁶² but also using the name of *Sayyid* to gaining popular support to incite a riot. The supporters of Jahangir were completely deceived by him for their “unquestionable faith in his words and scriptures provided by him.” Another historical document reads, “At this time when Jahangir led the rebels, four cities were occupied because of their weak defenses, and because the religious indulgence of the Hui people made them not fear death or offending the Qing military officials and infantries. They even save their fellow men with no fear for their own lives. When we (Qing infantry) curbed and crushed their forces, many of Jahangir’s men, when captured, admitted their rebellious act unswervingly, showing their bravery by preferring to be killed rather than face imprisonment. They called their Khwajas and recited their scriptures when being executed; when Qing soldiers seized other escapees, their militias attempted to pass information about the seizure to the escapees so they could continue to hide. Their character featured a sense of honor and glory at being “the descendants of Jibril.”⁶³

57 Ibid., roll 73.

58 Ibid., roll 1.

59 Ibid., roll 3.

60 See n. 7, *supra*.

61 Na Yancheng (那彥成), *Suggestions to the King (Na Wenyi Gong zouyi 那文毅公奏議)* (Shanghai: Shanghai guji shudian, 1995), roll 78.

62 Cao, roll 4, 49.

63 Cao, roll 49.

After the failure of Jahangir's revolt, his relatives, who still lived in Kokand, refused to submit to the Qing and kept seeking revenge for Jahangir. In revenge for the Qing forbidding trade (between Qing and Kokand) and expelling the Andijans, Kokand incited Khwaja Yusuf, the elder brother of Jahangir, to revolt against the Qing, taking advantage of Yusuf's resentment toward the empire. In the 10th Year of Daoguang (1830 AD), Yusuf, supporting the Kokand Khanate, ambushed Qing forces and took away Kashgar and Yangisar, thus making the Qing vulnerable and passive. In breaking through the impasse with Yusuf's force, the Qing regrouped its garrisons and later drove Yusuf's forces back to Kokand. The unrest made by Yusuf only lasted for four months, but its destruction was deeply felt in the war-ridden region.

The descendants of the Khwajas never gave up their aggressive territorial expansion into south Xinjiang, settling in Kokand. Seventeen years after Yusuf's rebellion, in the 27th Year of Daoguang (1847 AD), the revolt of the Seven Khwajas happened.⁶⁴ Ehsan Khan Khwajah (Katta Tora or Great Lord) and Khwajah Wali Khan, as the leaders of the revolt, gathered their forces at Andijan and Bulut and conquered Kashgar and Yangisar. The rebelling force occupied Kashgar like a flood. Following this military tension in Kashgar, the Qing ordered the Yarkant attaché to war against the rebels and thus pacified Kashgar in three months.

As Yaqub Beg began an invasion of Xinjiang in 1860s, Busurg Khan, the only son of Jahangir Khwaja, played a very shameful role in history. He was supported by Yaqub Beg to become the Khan of an independent kingdom, which rivaled the Qing regime. Later, when Yaqub Beg possessed Khotan, Aksu, Ush Turfan and Kucha, he thought Busurg's name would no longer be of use in "calling the faith of south Xinjiang Uyghurs," therefore, he dismissed Busurg and proclaimed himself as Amir of Kashgar. Despite Busurg's abandonment by Yaqub Beg, he had no reason to be accused of treason against the motherland.

As described above, the revolts of the White Mountain Khwajas caused the Qing constant trouble on the Western borders, thus making the court's ideal to never appease any revolts and rather to suppress the White Mountain Khwajas for "long-term and perpetual peace". Na Yancheng, in his "reports to the Imperial Court," detailed the two revolts, "last time the Jahangir rebels were identified as the White Mountain Khwajas; this time the villains circled Kashgar and Yangisar were also identified as the White Mountain Khwajas, in connection with those who fled in the last revolt . . . It is apparent that the two gangs are of

64 The Seven Khwajas, headed by Ehsan Khan Khwajah, is commonly known as "Katta Tora" or the Great Lord. It included Khwaja Buzurg Khan, Khwaja Wali Khan, Khwaja Kichik Khan and Khwaja Tawakkul Khan.

the same nature: they never kowtow and become truly loyal to Qing.”⁶⁵ In dealing with those White Mountain Khwajas, Na Yancheng here proposed a tactic, “send troops to clear the land where they rebel, completely uprooting their strongholds and driving them away out of the Chinese borders.” He advised the Qing court to “order the *hakimbegs* (the highest rank of officials in the *beg or baig* system), in the aftermath of the riots, to ‘cleanse’ or exterminate all the rebelling White Mountain Khwajas’ groups and deport their family members back to their places of origin.”⁶⁶ Na blamed General Chengling for offering no long-term strategies for dealing with the Muslims in Xinjiang where they continued to rebel. With regard to the disturbances caused by these riots, Na henceforth proposed that the “Qing should never appease these revolts and carry out investigations into ‘white caps’ in both Kashgar and Yangisar. Then they should be divided into groups and deported far from our land in order to stop further revolts.”⁶⁷ But in practice, such a straightforward measure could not be implemented.

Meanwhile, the Qing replaced all the White Mountain *ahongs* and judges with those of the “Black Mountain Khwajas.” In addition, Qing waived grain tax and corvée for some ‘black capped’ *ahongs*. However, Na Yancheng wrote to the Emperor, and said, “The ‘black caps’ in Kashgar used their own ways to elect their judges,” and “all cities (in Xinjiang) have gotten used to electing ‘black caps’ as judges, and all the judges for all cities are ‘black caps.’”⁶⁸ Knowing that its preferential treatments towards the ‘black caps’ would anger the ‘white caps,’ which could result in bloodsheds, the Qing nonetheless insisted on this policy. The Qing supported the ‘black capped’ *ahongs* for two reasons: (1) the Qing rewarded ‘black caps’ for their loyalty to the court by awarding those *ahongs* who assisted the Qing side, despite the disadvantage of being outnumbered by the ‘white caps’ in the Jahangir revolt;⁶⁹ (2) the Qing knew these *ahongs*, were the effective ‘socializing agents’ of Uyghur Muslims and had an arms-length control of the latter because “*ahongs* are well-versed in the Quran, standing as “moral examples” for Muslims, who “unquestionably followed the words, and initiate the acts, of *ahongs*.” And “once we (Qing) induced and won over these *ahongs*, then all their adherents would also be loyal to our court.”⁷⁰

65 Na, roll 80.

66 Ibid.

67 See n. 58, *supra*.

68 Ibid.

69 Ibid.

70 Ibid.

There is no denying that the “Black Mountain Khwajas,” whether or not they really helped the Qing against Jahangir Khwajah’s revolt, did however, foster national unification. A historical document records the relationship between the two as, “our court and the black caps, which shared and fought the same enemy with us, becoming quite loyal to us.”⁷¹ In return, the Qing rewarded them in various ways, including (1) precious gifts of peacock-feathered hats and silk robes and (2) waivers of tributary taxes. For instance, “Ahong Numah of the Black Mountain Khwajas never swore allegiance to Jahangir and fled to Kokand.”⁷² After the defeat of the Jahangir rebels, Numah went back to south Xinjiang and received prostrations from several thousand Muslims. Together with Ahong Yusuf and others, Numah met with the Qing imperial commissioner Na Yancheng who presented the precious gifts to Numah, including “peacock-feathered hats (with official silk) in the third rank, piles of gold ingots, damask, tea and others items.”⁷³ Numah, receiving these gifts, “prostrated and wept”; he said he also thanked “the imperial benevolence” and expressed his determination of “earnestly teaching Muslims and serving the country for good with my utmost effort.”⁷⁴ Na, taking this opportunity rewarded Numah for “his right decision to not rebel” encouraged him to teach Uyghur Muslims to do the same.⁷⁵ Such preferential treatment of the Black Mountain Khwajas turned them into “the servants of the Great Emperor,” and many Muslims “feeling the imperial grace, prostrated, hailed and wept.”⁷⁶ Such a pacifying policy on the Black Mountain Khwajas, together with Uyghur Muslims, finally worked.

As the religious leader of the Black Mountain Khwajas, Numah had paramount influences on Uyghur Muslims; Qing understood his crucial importance in the Xinjiang annexation attained by his return to his place of origin.

Moreover, other *ahongs* of these Black Mountain Khwajas, having helped the Qing crush the Jahangir rebels were awarded peacock-feather hats and hereditary titles;⁷⁷ their offspring would enjoy permanent “waivers of tributary and grain tariffs.”⁷⁸

All the aforementioned measures applied to the Black Mountain Khwajas were meant to stabilize the Qing rule over south Xinjiang, and this key matter

⁷¹ See n. 52, *supra*.

⁷² Ibid.

⁷³ See n. 11, *supra*.

⁷⁴ Na, roll 79.

⁷⁵ Ibid.

⁷⁶ Ibid.

⁷⁷ Ibid.

⁷⁸ See n. 58, *supra*.

was stated in Na Yancheng's words, "all *ahongs* are responsible for teaching the Muslims who never question their teachings."⁷⁹ Na considered *ahongs* as "the key persons to guide and open up the minds of Muslims, and whose guiding roles (or role as socializing agents in present-day terms) were not replaced by provincial general-governors or judges appointed by the Qing."⁸⁰

To summarize, Qing policies in the aftermath of the Khwaja brothers' revolts nurtured the relationship with the Black Mountain Khwajas and included unswerving military action against the White Mountain Khwajas.

4

The historical struggle between the White and the Black Mountain Khwajas did not have a positive impact on national unity and development of Uyghurs in terms of cultural and economic aspects. Of course, the followers of both Mountain Khwajas were normal civilians, as well as victims of such history; on the contrary, *Khwajas*, *ahongs* and, judges, in their small fractions, were in fact the ones who owned the land and exploited the common people. For instance, the Khwaja brothers, during their short-lived rule over south Xinjiang, "tortured their people and levied excessive taxes in all forms," leading to "general poverty and destitution of the ruled." They extorted what the people had and the wealth accumulated from such extortion resulted in profligate spending. Because of such exploitation by extortion from the region's religious-political minorities, the south Xinjiang Uyghurs were oppressed by not only the feudal rule of the Dzungars and the Qing, but also *Khwajas*, *ahongs* and judges in their cities. According to *Shengwuji*, "the two Khwaja brothers, despite a reduction of taxable items, raised taxes on military expenses for their expansion. The more the brothers asked for taxes, the more the households became bankrupt, but the brothers used up what they had taxed, resulting in the destitution of households."⁸¹ Reporting to the Qing emperor, General Zhaowei wrote, "Khwaja-i Jahan and his brother Burhan al-Din entered Yarkant and collected taxes of 24,000 taka,⁸² taxed grains 2,190 padamah and livestock 900 taka. They collected regularly and caused disturbances. If households could not pay all the taxes, the amounts they paid later would be recorded as debts,

79 See n. 71, *supra*.

80 Ibid.

81 See n. 4, *supra*.

82 Translator's note: The taka is the currency of modern Bangladesh and may have been used in pre-Independence Bengal. Indian currencies circulated in Xinjiang up to the early 20th century and Yarkand was an important base for Indian traders.

thus making every household poor. Some Uyghurs, bowing down, told me that, in the 20th Year of Qianlong (1755 AD), having sieged the city for three months, the army of Khwaja-i Jahan looted all over and they fled because of growing poverty.”⁸³ Volume 4 of *Chronicles of Xinjiang* recorded their cruelty and tyranny over the Uyghurs: “What they demanded, such as money, grain, clothes, livestock and other miscellanies, was extorted from the households, whether rich or poor, and the taxes they levied were demanded arbitrarily. The lower ranks, such as judges, *emirs*, *ahongs*, followed what the Khwajah brothers extorted from what the common Uyghurs had garnered from their land causing them to wander elsewhere for their hard lives.” The leaders in Ush Turfan, like the Khwaja brothers, repeated the same kind of extortion;⁸⁴ taxing the people without any regulations and principles; they taxed the poor more, even as the rich evaded taxes.⁸⁵ Judges and *ahongs* alike, and White and Black Mountain Khwajas alike, established their “unholy alliances,” and “*ahongs* exploited the Uyghurs whenever they wished and by any possible means, thus becoming a social illness.”⁸⁶ *Ahongs* taking advantage of household conflicts “helped” to mediate the conflicting parties by extorting “compensation” from all of them. The different “titles” and “items” of extortion caused backwardness and poverty of the ruled and the exploited, bringing down the production as a head-on barrier of social and cultural development. All in all, the feudalist rule over the Uyghurs entrenched the interests of lords and squires, not a progressive force for the classes.

Thus the rift and rivalry between the White and the Black Mountain Khwajas impeded the development of Xinjiang. Such is explored in greater detail below.

First and foremost, the several revolts caused by the groups, to a large extent, destroyed national unification. Both camps solicited support from external forces to purge one another. At the very beginning, the Black Mountain Khwajas called upon the Chagatai Dynasty to prevent Khwajah Afaq from influencing south Xinjiang. Afaq later colluded with the Dzungars to take revenge on the Black Mountain Khwajas, bringing the Yarkant Empire to an end and the Dzungars ruled for seventy-three years. After the Qing defeated the Dzungars, the two camps did not end their rivalry, and thus followed the revolts launched by Khwaja-i Jahan and his brother, and by Jahangir Khwaja,

83 Fu Hang et al., *Strategic Planning of Suppressing the Dzungar* (*Pingding Zhunga'er fan-glue zhengpian* 平定准噶爾方略正編, finished in 1770, the thirty-fifth year of Qianlong) (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1987), roll 77.

84 Ibid., roll 7.

85 Ibid., roll 32.

86 Na, roll 77.

Yusuf, and the Seven Khwajas. All these revolts have been identified as national subversion undertaken by establishing an Islamic Khanate that advocated for and aimed at separation from Chinese sovereignty. National unification was the general wish of the Uyghurs who opposed short-lived national separation. During the initial stage of revolt, Khwaja-i Jahan and his brother faced opposition from the people, including the Kucha Judge Edui. His sons opposed the brothers and fled to Ili.⁸⁷ They joined Qing garrisons. In order to exterminate the enemy, the brothers ordered the assassination of Edui's clansmen. Narrowly escaping and filled with vengefulness, Edui voluntarily became the front commander of the Qing army. When the Uyghur residents learned the Qing soldiers were advancing from Kashgar, they, "accompanied the elders and toddlers, to welcome the Qing military, bringing them gifts of livestock and wine."⁸⁸ Other Khwajas and religious officials did not agree with the brother's revolt,⁸⁹ and having been defeated, Khwaja-i Jahan and his brother fled to Ush Turfan, whose judge, Huo Qis, refused to accept them. Without any help from adjacent cities Khwaja-i Jahan then fled to Kashgar and his brother Burhan al-Din fled to Yarkant, however Qing troops drove them to Badakhshan and their companions departed and left them permanently, "surrendering to Qing like flocks down from the slopes, making a thunderous sound." Khwaja-i Jahan was unable to stop their surrender, even though he slaughtered some of his former soldiers.⁹⁰ The number of people who surrendered was around 12,000. Similarly, Jahangir Khwaja did not gain support from the Uyghurs, or judges of other cities, who instead stood on the Qing side. When Jahangir attacked in the 12th Lunar Month of the 7th Year of Daoguang (January 1828 AD), his troops were intercepted by opposing troops sent by the Black Mountain Khwajas, plus the White Mountain Khwajas who no longer supported him. Later when Jahangir was caught in Yangabad, he had only thirty-something accomplices. Likewise, the revolt led by Yusuf failed to mobilize people in south Xinjiang, with exceptions of a few from Kashgar and Yengisar who were "rumored" to have "welcomed Khwaja Yusuf" who "intended to rebel."⁹¹ The voluntary rebels⁹² who joined Yusuf were composed primarily of Andijans and Kokandians. Since Andijan and Kokandians were notorious for

87 See n. 40, *supra*.

88 See n. 29, *supra*.

89 Cao, roll 57.

90 See n. 7, *supra*.

91 *True History in years of King Daoguang (Qing Xuanzong Shilu 清宣宗實錄)* (Nantou: Taiwan sheng wenxian weiyuanhui, 1997), roll 171.

92 *Ibid.*, roll 173.

their “disturbances,” “ruthlessness and deception, the White Mountain Khwajas “waited and saw what was going on and did not follow the rebels;”⁹³ nor did they agree to the fractional policy of the Khwajah descendants. Kokandians and Andijans furiously gathered and looted, disregarding the livelihood of the people they pillaged. According to *History of Qing Dynasty* (Qing shi gao 清史稿), Kokandians and Andijans “looted the goods but did not aim for the lands and people. The white-capped Huis, afraid of these robbers, had to obey the situation, and became rebels (against the Qing) actually against their will.”⁹⁴

Furthermore, those judges who disagreed with Yusuf’s rebellion supported the Qing garrisons and provided military supplies. For instance, Judge Amadah donated 1,000 horses, 50,000 catties of hay and 500 stone (weight) of horse feed; Judge Ismah sent his *khazanachi-beg* (treasurer), fifth in rank, to be responsible for purchasing 350,000 catties of wheat; Judge Musa, together with his treasurer and other officials in the lower ranks donated 800 horses in several installments. When Yusuf sent troops and attacked Yarkant, Uyghur militias bravely fought against the offending troops. Not only did Uyghurs kill many of Yusuf’s men, but they also caught over 300 men whom the Qing kept as captives. In other words, before the arrival of Qing troops, Uyghurs voluntarily fought and drove away Yusuf’s rebels who were defeated and fled back to Kokand. The later rebellion launched by the Seven Khwajahs also resulted in the same fate as Yusuf’s. The rebels, once occupying Kashgar, neither solicited any support from the Uyghurs, nor the White Mountain Khwajas who were in the majority. Uyghurs had generally “learned a lot about the previous rebellions, and never showed their support.”⁹⁵ The Uyghur people opposed the rebellion, even some Muslim leaders also showed no support. For example, the Turfan Khan declared to the Qing government that he supported the latter with 400 chariots “for military operations.”⁹⁶ After Khwajah Wali Khan destroyed the Yarkant taka, officials of all ranks “expressed their sincerity and voluntarily donated money for reconstruction.”⁹⁷

93 Ibid., roll 175.

94 Zhao Erxun (趙爾巽) et al., “On General Zhang Ling (*Zhang Ling liechuan* 長齡列傳),” in *History of Qing Dynasty* (*Qing shi gao* 清史稿) (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1977), roll 367.

95 Zeng Wenwu (曾問吾), *History of Operations in Western Countries from Han Dynasty to Republic of China* (*Zhongguo jingying Xiyushi* 中國經營西域史) (Shanghai: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1936), 313.

96 *True History in years of King Daoguang* (*Qing Xuanzong Shilu* 清宣宗實錄) (Nantou: Taiwan sheng wenxian weiyuanhui, 1997), roll 447.

97 Ibid., roll 451.

All in all, history perpetually proves that those who oppose national unification never win the hearts and minds of people, and unfortunately sometimes even end in tragedy.

Moreover, the rivalry of the White and the Black Mountain Khwajas was destructive to national unity and solidarity as both Mountain Khwajas stemmed from the same root, yet they took revenge on and killed each other out of political interests. After all, “they remained isolated from each other, and avoided cross marriages.” Even worse, they frequently involved themselves in merciless bloodshed, even within the same clan; they killed each other as the political struggles persisted. Their feud only worsened the conflict between the Islamic sects in China, as well as the national conflicts that shattered national solidarity, and brought about historical tension. Historically, the Ziauddin Incident (occurring in the 20th Year of Jiaxing, 1815 AD) exemplifies this.

The Ziauddin Incident was caused by an edict, issued by the judge of Kashgar, which prohibited the new wife of Ziauddin to be brought back to his village. Ziauddin, an *ahong* of the Black Mountain Khwajas, was a feudal lord who came from Southwest Kashgar. His grandfather was killed by Khwaja-i Jahan and his brother and father escaped to Andijan. After the Qing’s pacification of Khwaja-i Jahan’s revolt, his paternal family went back to Kashgar. Ziauddin then established his prestige. Ziauddin arranged to marry the daughter of the county governor who could provide political patronage to Ziauddin.⁹⁸ Additionally, he was a man of generosity and benevolence who aided the lives of the poor in the village and among the neighboring Buluts; his philanthropy was praiseworthy. As mentioned above, the White and the Black Mountain Khwajas never intermarried, but Ziauddin broke this custom, taking the daughter of Khwajah Kasin,⁹⁹ a White Mountain Khwaja, as his second wife. In fact, the marriage indisputably fostered national unity; however, when Ziauddin made his request twice to the judge of Kashgar, it was immediately refused lest “there be a clandestine affair that may agitate the people.” The reply in turn agitated Ziauddin, who led a gang of Uyghur villagers and Buluts, numbering in several hundreds, and ignited nearby stables and killed officials.

98 Second son of Ziauddin, (阿比特) married eldest daughter of (阿奇木伯克巴彥岱) in 1809 AD and had a son. Later when (阿比特) died of an illness, (巴彥岱) took back his daughter. (English names unknown.).

99 Khwajah Kasin, a descendant of Paighambar. He was originally a Duke, but was dismissed because of crime, then moved to the Tomb of ApaQ Xoja in Kashgar, with others from the White Mountain Khwajas.

The Qing, fearing the growing revolt, sent troops to suppress the riot and executed Ziauddin. The Qing could have ended the riot without further repercussions, but rumor spread that Turdi Mehmud, a Bulut (Kirgiz) military leader who had helped catch Ziauddin, was falsely accused of being an accomplice and he was later executed. Mehmud's son and other accompanying Khwajahs escaped to Kokand and colluded with Khwaja-i Jahan and his brother. Later the Buluts joined the Jahangir and Yusuf rebellions.

On the surface, the Ziauddin Incident unfolded between Ziauddin and the judge of Kashgar. It showed that the root of the conflict came from a prolonged struggle between the White and the Black Mountain Khwajas. The original intention of Ziauddin was to embarrass and dishonor the judge, who reinforced the customary convention that there was to be no intermarriage between the White and the Black Mountain Khwajas. But as only one event among many that disrupted national unity; this event has in fact proven the consequential destruction of such unity, given the long-termed rift and rivalry between the "Mountain Khwajas."

The Ziauddin Incident was a consequence of the aforesaid struggles of the Mountain Khwajas that disrupted and endangered national unity. Moreover, the Mountain Khwajas used violence and other means of oppression to purge their opponents. Back to the Yarkant Khanate, the Black Mountain Khwajas worked to oppress, purge and kill the members of the White Mountain Khwajas; and when the White Mountain Khwajas came to power, they almost did the same things against the Black Mountain Khwajas. Ziauddin's grandfather was slaughtered by White Mountain Khwajas and yet he remained silent on the Whites tormenting the Black Mountain Khwajas.¹⁰⁰ This vicious cycle of violence and torture surely had devastating effects on national unity.

In terms of pacifying policies, the Qing's primary concern was to conquer and divide by balancing the forces of the various khanates in Xinjiang. It was in the Qing's best interest to prevent the Mountain Khwajas from coming to a peaceful agreement; had they established a commonwealth of national minorities, it might have threatened Qing's control of Xinjiang. In other words, the Qing tactic of using the Black Mountain Khwajas to "counterbalance" the regional rebellions of the White Mountain Khwajas was a deliberate act of *divide et impera*. Na Yancheng, reporting to the Qing court, said squarely, "The white and black caps shared their precious territories. We can take an opportunity by demanding the loyalty of the black caps whose contributions have to be rewarded; the rewards would make the white caps envious and so both the

100 Zeng, 305.

white and black caps take counsel against each other.”¹⁰¹ Under such a pacifying policy, it was not expected that the nationalities in Xinjiang would form a united front.

Lastly, the several upheavals made by the White and the Black Mountain Khwajas disrupted social stability, destroyed agricultural production and brought the economy and the culture to a halt. The continuous wars, preceded by their religious and political struggles, only prolonged the suffering of the White and the Black Mountain Khwajas resulting in a drastic reduction of population, a decrease in cultivated land and a total destruction of economy and culture. The Dzungars then took Xinjiang, originally ruled by Yarkant, after the White Mountain Khwajas uprooted the power base of the Black Mountain Khwajas. In Qara Salar, “the Dzungars relied upon their tyrannical power to unlawfully occupy the farmlands of Uyghurs, who “fled in destitution and despair, faced death, and thus they ruined the land.”¹⁰² While the Qing finally caught Dawachi and ended the Dzungars’ rule over Xinjiang for the second time, it struggled to stop subsequent rebellions of the Khwajahs that, as aforementioned, cost millions of lives and resulted in more adversity. A historical source suggests that, “in Sayram there had been around 5,000 inhabitants, but Khwaja-i Jahan killed most of them.”¹⁰³ By the 7th Lunar Month of the 24th Year of Qianlong (1759 AD), General Fu De pacified Yarkant and recounted that “in previous years, there were more than 23,000 households, but now there remain only 20,000. Before the rebellion (of Khwaja-i Jahan), in Kucha, there were 30,000 to 50,000 households; and in the aftermath of the rebellion, nothing is left in the city and only 1,000 households are living there.”¹⁰⁴ “The Bumul city (*Buguer hui cheng* 布古爾回城), where most Muslims were, registered 2,000 households, but the number has been drastically reduced to several hundred after the Jahangir revolt.”¹⁰⁵ Jahangir Khwaja killed people “whether or not they were identified as his enemies,” thus resulting in uncountable casualties. Around 37,000 inhabitants in Kashgar and Yangisar were forcibly deported to Kokand in the revolt of Seven Khwajas, many of whom froze to death due to extreme weather before they arrived at Kokand.

War and fire ruined livelihoods and many people had no means of escape. Rioters and bandits raped women, committed arson and pillaged, and did

¹⁰¹ See n. 58, *supra*.

¹⁰² Qishiyi, roll 2.

¹⁰³ Fu Hang et al., *Strategic Planning of suppressing the Dzungar (Pingding Zhunga'er fanglue zhenpian* 平定准噶尔方略正编) (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1987), roll 59.

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, 75.

¹⁰⁵ See n. 98, *supra*.

whatever they pleased. When Burhan al-Din fled from the Qing army, "he was still in Kucha and dispelled all men and women, then set fire to burn all the households and the gates. Then his army blackmailed those men and women and Burhan al-Din ordered his army to pillage everything, fleeing to the West to meet his brother Khwaja-i Jahan."¹⁰⁶ After the pillaging, Qing troops marched into Kucha and found only "seven sheep and two cows."¹⁰⁷ After having taken four cities in south Xinjiang, Jahangir seized and pillaged, and "connived Andijan and Buluts to loot without limit and commit unreasonable violence;"¹⁰⁸ "Committing the crimes of murder, rape, and pillage at a scale thousands of times larger than that committed by other Khwajas in previous times."¹⁰⁹ Yusuf made several, unsuccessful attempts to curb Kashgar and Yangisar, then retreated to Yarkant where he pillaged whatever he could get his hands on, "carrying away anything from children to livestock on the spot."¹¹⁰ Even worse, his accompanying Andijan and Bulut soldiers did the same, sometimes to a greater extent, than Yusuf, who later repented and said, "I apologize for the misdeeds of Kokands, who have fought with me, for their insatiable greed and unbridled desires of looting have in fact bedeviled our Hui."¹¹¹ All in all, these riots completely destroyed the agricultural production in the surrounding areas of farmland, greatly reducing the population. Many irrigation works were left unrepaired due to "constant war and destruction" which further made an agricultural society backward; this was one of the inevitable consequences of war.

To conclude, the rift and rivalry between the Mountain Khwajas that led several revolts and wars were definitely destructive to national solidarity, adversely affecting the overall social and cultural development. Despite the riots that are events of the past, it is of crucial importance to apply theories of Marxist-Leninism and Mao's thoughts to analyze this incident in both historical methods and theoretical perspectives. The historical teleology of Marx, Lenin and Mao sheds light upon the first and foremost national mission of China: protecting national unity among all nations in Xinjiang. Comrade Mao has highlighted the priority of his mission succinctly, "Our first mission of national building is to bond all nations [ethnicities], and all the peoples, into

¹⁰⁶ See n. 29, *supra*.

¹⁰⁷ See n. 98, *supra*.

¹⁰⁸ See n. 96, *supra*.

¹⁰⁹ See n. 62, *supra*.

¹¹⁰ Bi Chang (壁昌) and Lingshan (齡山), *Protecting Borders (Shoubian jiyao 守邊輯要)* (Taipei: Wen Hai Publishing Ltd., 1978).

¹¹¹ See n. 7, *supra*.

unity that we must win and safeguard these fundamentals.” This direction is not only a conclusive statement of socialist revolution and its construction, but also a conclusion of Mao’s own theory that has been vindicated by his socialist practices in history. In commemorating the 800-year anniversary of Moscow, Joseph Stalin spoke about socialism in its own right: “No country in the world can count on preserving its independence, on real economic and cultural growth, if it has not succeeded in liberating itself from feudal disunity and strife among princes. Only a country which is united in a single, centralized state can count on the possibility of real cultural and economic growth, on the possibility of firmly establishing its independence.” The rift and rivalry of the “Mountain Khwajas” happening more than a century ago bears the present-day historical meanings: It proves that anyone who opposes national unity and attempts to destroy national solidarity will be punished in bruises and bloodsheds, all of which are clearly seen in history. National unity and solidarity, by all means, foster and propel economic, social and cultural development, and match the historical law of socialism in which lay the special meanings of the “four modernizations.”¹¹²

112 Four Modernizations: the strengthening of agriculture, industry, national defense, and science and technology.

The Relationship between the Naqshbandi Order in Central Asia and Khwaja in Xinjiang and *Menhuan* in Northwest China

Chen Guo-guang

Abstract

After the rise of the Naqshbandi in the 14th Century AD, it became a major religious force that formed a synergy with the Eastern Chaghatai Khanate and opened the gate of Islamic preaching in Xinjiang. Its active roles in Xinjiang lay the foundation of the Kashgar Khwaja with the Yarkant Khanate and helped the latter's territorial expansion. The political experiences and preaching of Xinjiang Khwaja exerted tremendous influences on later formations of Chinese *menhuan* in the Northwest. This chapter focuses on the Naqshbandi sect in connection with Xinjiang Khwaja and the Northwest *menhuan* of China and offers clues to the origins, circulation, and development of Sufism, in terms of nationalization and Sinicization.

Keywords

Sufism – Central Asia – Naqshbandi – Xinjiang Khwaja – Northwest Menhuan

The large-scale introduction of Sufism during the Ming and Qing Dynasties matured when Islam took charge politically, economically, and culturally as well as in other ways in terms of nationalization and Sinicization. In this period, after the end of the Yarkant Khanate, there was a special period in which Xinjiang was ruled by the Kashgar Khwaja; in parallel, a form of Islamic organization called *menhuan* was mushrooming in China. The cause of this form of religious governance was attributed to the rise of Islamic mysticism in Central Asia, especially the prosperity of the Naqshbandi sect in the 14th Century AD. This chapter, as we shall see, outlines the main formation and development of the Naqshbandi sect as a focal point of analysis in the synchronic development of Xinjiang Khwaja and Chinese *menhuan*.

1

As early as the Dark Ages of European medieval scholasticism, Oriental Islamic scholarship reached its peak and led the trend that guided theoretical explorations of Islamic civilizations in Central Asia as a great leap in civilizational advancements. Early historical records have shown that in the 10th Century AD, Sufism began its widespread circulation and had regional influence on Khorasan, Transoxiana and Tocharistan. Abu Abdillah Muh ibn Ishaq ibn Muhammad Khuzaymah and other Sufi theorists and masters of Sufi mysticism built their *khanagah* (Sufi lodges, or *daotang* 道堂). Based upon this establishment, Imam Al-Ghazali combined fundamentalism with *tawhid* (a pan-Mysticism movement). By the early 12th Century AD, Sheikh Yusuf Hamdani (d. 1140 AD) came to Merv in the Turkmen region and became a religious leader. According to *Churas Khronika*¹ Yusuf Hamdani received the *tariqah* (the teachings of the Sufi orders, *daosheng shixi* 道乘世系) from his teacher, Sheikh Ibrahim ibn Ali ibn Yusuf al-Fairuzabadi, with two divisions and four lineages. The first lineage started from Sheikh Abu Hurayrah (603–681 AD) whose *tariqah* was handed down to Jafar al-Sadiq (702–765 AD). This lineage was divided into two subdivisions: one stemmed from the grandfather and father of Jafar al-Sadiq to the first imam Ali; the other was from Umar ibn Al-Khattab (d. 644 AD) to his father Abu Bakr as-Siddiq (573–634 AD). The second lineage started from Abu Qasim Gurgani to Maruf Ibn Firuz al-Karhki. And again two subdivisions were found in this lineage: one subdivision featured Ali ibn Musa al-Rida (765–818 AD) and his predecessors, and the other, Abu Dawud (817–889 AD) to the predecessor Prophet Ali. Handing down *tariqah* originated from Abu Bakr as-Siddiq who met with the Prophet Ali, giving two specific characteristics: (1) it carried the Shi'a prophecy from Ali, stressing the gleaming light as a symbol of inheritance; and (2) it was also linked to Abu Bakr as-Siddiq who succeeded in Sunni theology created by the Prophet Muhammad.²

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- 1 Written by Shah Mahmud ibn Mirza Fazil Churas in Persian (circa 1676–1677 AD), the book was considered, by Chinese scholars, to be the postscript of *Tarikh-i-Rashidi*. This reference is to the first Russian translation in 1973.
 - 2 Later on, all Kashgari Khwaja clans arranged their successions according to both internal (blood ties) and external lineage, and adopted the genealogy of imams as a selecting criterion of successors. By adding or deducting the lineages of saintly descendants, different clans could trace their distinctive genealogies back to Prophet Ali. Deleting the lineal system of Sheikhs before Sheikh Abu Qasim Gurgani and putting Gurgani under the clan of Sheikh Abu Hurayrah, it traces him in the genealogy of Imam Muhammad al-Baqir.

After Yusuf Hamdani's death in 1140 AD, the Turkic Islamic preacher Arslan Baba and his disciple, Khwaja Ahmad Yasawi (1093–1166 AD), cofounded the first Turkic Sufi *tariqah*, the Yasaviyya. Yasawi urged for the vocal *dhikr* (remembrance, reminder, and evocation), and was called the creator of the Jahriyya and the "saint." In addition to the emergence of the Yasaviyya, there also appeared the Qadiriyya, the Mevleviye, the Shadhiliyya, the Myridiyya and the Qalandariyya that permeated into Central Asia. The emergence of the Yasaviyya, together with other mystic organizations, furthered the religious organization of Central Asian mysticism. The Kubrawiyya of Chorasmia rose in the 13th Century AD, and also the Naqshbandiyya, established by Baha al-Din Naqshband Bukhari (1318–1381 AD), whose *tariqah* was linked to the lineage of Yusuf Hamdani, and whose sixth descendant handed down the *ijazah* (certificate giving the holder permission to teach) to Bukhari. According to hearsay, Bukhari dreamt of Halmud Ata, a Turkic sage and the disciple and successor of Ahmad Yasawi. Halmud Ata predicted that Bukhari's religious teacher would be a Turk and an Islamic dervish. It is believed that this dervish was a deputy (*khalifa*) and a religious leader in the lineage of Genghis Khan. This person, followed by Bukhari, came to the throne in Central Asian Khanates in 1340.³ Later,

When the *khalifa* died, Bukhari was convinced and believed that all the secular wealth was nihilistic and he started a new page of his life by practicing asceticism.⁴

The hearsay about Bukhari, to a certain extent, not only reveals his intent to establish the Naqshbandiyya, but also reflects the relationship between the new Naqshbandiyya and the old Yassawi sect (*Yasaiwei* 亞塞維派). Featuring the silent, as opposed to vocal, *dhikr*, the Naqshbandiyya advocated *dhikr e-Qulb* (constant remembrance of Allah through low-voiced mantras or in silence) and the gesturing lines on the chest in meditation as rituals for cardiac purification) and were known as the Khufiyya. Bukhari, who founded this new sect, was then also called "Naqshband," the painter. Advocating strict conformity to Sunni *hadith* (adherence to the words and deeds of Muhammad and other

3 The corresponding names and relationships of those following Hamdani have not yet been determined. Two names Halilesuanrui and Emir Said Kular appear to refer to the same person: 哈木達尼以後人名對應關係尚待考證，哈裡勒算端與艾米爾·賽義德·庫拉爾似為一人。

4 Wilhelm Barthold, *Twelve Lectures on the History of Turks in Central Asia* (*Zhongyia Tujueshi shi'er jiang* 中亞突厥史十二講), trans. Luo Zhiping (羅致平) (Beijing: China Social Sciences Press, 1984), 210.

early Muslims) and *fiqh* (Islamic law), the Naqshbandi adherents objected to fanatical beliefs and activities, and preferred to conform to current secular rules. Favored and respected by the Timurid Khanate, the Naqshbandiyya was granted the privileged to spread Islam everywhere to Central Asian Turks as the sole religious force of Central Asian Sufism. Bukhari of the Naqshbandiyya devoted his lifelong efforts to theological pedagogy, and trained Khwaja Muhammad Bazar and Ala al-Din Attar as his first descendants, along with his second descendant, Mauláná Yaqub al-Charkhi. When the Naqshbandi *ijazah* was handed down to the third descendant, Ubayd Allah al-Ahrar (d. 1490 AD), the Timurid Khanate had crumbled, and therefore the ruling force of the feudal lords was undermined. The chaotic circumstances created by the crumbling empire thus provided opportunities for the rise of a religious force with a feudal base. Being a highland Tajik and a leader of Islamic faith, Khwaja al-Ahrar was opposed to the governance of Ulugh Beg, the elder son of Shah Rukh. His opposition to Ulugh Beg was recognized, and thus credited by Mirza Abu Said. In 1451 AD, Mirza Abu Said captured much of the eastern part of Transoxiana by winning over Shah Rukh bin Timur, thus raising the reputation of Ubayd Allah al-Ahrar. Ubayd Allah al-Ahrar's religious appointment, according to hearsay, was related to a dream of Abu Said in which Ahmad Yasawi told Abu Said that he should take al-Ahrar on as his spiritual teacher.⁵ Based upon this, Abu Said appointed al-Ahrar as his vizier (*wazir*). In this exchange of al-Ahrar's appointment, Abu Said made use of al-Ahrar's high prestige to reunite the divided empire made by Shah Rukh; in return, al-Ahrar, like most religious leaders, shared the privileged interest of the *tanfur* system (land granting as patronage). Much of the land and other forms of wealth were acquired by Khwaja al-Ahrar whose business eventually became lucrative. He owned numerous courtyards in both Mawarannahr and Kazakhstan, and a total of 1,300 farms with an area of 3,000 units (*zhufute* 朱弗特. One such unit is the area that a pair of cattle can plow in busy season). During the forty years of Abu Said's iron-fisted rule, Khwaja al-Ahrar was involved in power struggles with the royal descendants of the Eastern Chaghatai Khanate, and this resulted in the expansion of his religious influences eastward. At the very beginning, Xinjiang Islam was centered on Kuqa and the Astrad family. The family was respected because its predecessors had persuaded Tughlugh Khan to be converted to Islam, which was considered a great contribution to the expansion of Islam. The descendants of the Astrad family maintained their family prestige by monopolizing religious matters for their self-interest, as a result posing a threat to the Khanate. Because of this, Awais Khan (d. 1428) shifted

5 Ibid.

his religious patronage to the second descendant of the Naqshbandiyya, the Bukhara dervish Maulana Ahmad Kasani who acted in opposition to the Astrad family; Abu Bakr, claiming his association with al-Attar, expanded his zones of influences to Yarkant whose inhabitants, however, resisted, "This is the land of Fahkr, not al-Attar. Under the decree of Fahkr, Mirza Nasr ruled Yarkant in great prosperity."⁶ The conflicts between the Astrads and al-Ahrar finally came to an end when Abu Bakr, who had been converted under al-Ahrar, was followed by Yunus Khan (ruling the Western Chaghatai Khanate in 1458–1469 AD) and his son. When al-Ahrar came and saw Yunus Khan, he urged him to make laws to abandon the slave trade of the Moghuls and other infidels, and successfully mediated several conflicts on royal marriages conducive to wars between Yunus Khan and other parties. In other words, al-Ahrar was a true master of statecraft with his talent of reckoning all possibilities of different scenarios. He once shared his secret of statecraft to his most favored disciple, Muhammad az-Zahid saying:

... Once the student (referring to the Khan) has such a teacher (sheikh or *ishan*), he should obey what the teacher has instructed, and he shalt not make other alternatives on his own. He follows the given instructions behaving as an eagle, catches a prey with his utmost effort and does not question whether he can catch it or not.⁷

Al-Ahrar's brevity and ability to have the powerful under his power was not only respected by the Chaghatai rulers, but also Taj-ud-Din Muhammad who turned and received al-Ahrar's pupilage and thereby drew up plans to promote the Naqshbandiyya in Xinjiang.

2

Starting from Khwaja Muhammad, the Naqshbandi sect in Xinjiang was split into three branches. The first branch was represented by Taj-ud-din, grandson of Baha-ud-din and son of Ubaid Ullah. Having been educated by al-Ahrar,

6 *Jialaliding · Keteke yu Tuheilu · Tiemu'erhan chuan* 加拉里丁 (克特柯與禿黑魯 · 鐵木爾汗傳)." in Liu Zhiqi (劉志齊), *Uighur history (Weiwu'erzu lishi 維吾爾族歷史)* (Beijing: minzu chubanshe, 1985), 415.

7 Mirza-Muhammad-Haidar-Dughlat, *Tarikh-i Rashidi: A History of the Moghuls (Zhong Ya Mengwu'er shi 中亞蒙兀兒史)* 2nd ed., trans. Wang Zhilai (王治來) (Urumqi: Xinjiang renmin chubanshe, 1986), 89.

Taj-ud-din was sent to Turpan and became a religious master who guided Sultan Mahmud Khan (the son of Yunus Khan who took over the lands of Central and Eastern Moghulistan and Turfan in 1485–1504 AD) and Mansur Khan (son of Sultan Mahmud Khan ruling over the lands of Central and Eastern Moghulistan and the annexed Yarkant in 1502–1544 AD), serving the siblings with a tenure of fifty years. He adjudicated the conflict between Mansur Khan and Said Sultan (son of Sultan Mahmud Khan, ruling over Central and Eastern Moghulistan and Yarkant in 1485–1504 AD) and brought both Yarkant and Turfan to peace. According to a historical source, after Mansur Khan had taken over Hami:

The Khan ordered Taj-ud-din to defend Hami as the leading insurgent for over forty years, and even he did not ask the Khan for any offering gifts, being proud of his accumulation of wealth and the self-sustenance of Hami under his defense.⁸

Finally, Taj-ud-din was killed in the “jihad” against Ming, bringing that phase of the Xinjiang history to an end.

The second branch featured Khwaja Malmud Nura (d. 1536 AD) and his elder brother Muhammad Yusuf (d. 1530 AD), the grandsons of Ubayd Allah al-Ahrar. What made the siblings different were their lineages: Nura was taught by his grandfather Ubayd Allah al-Ahrar, and Yusuf, by his father, Muhammad Abdullah. Nura, after the death of his father at the age of 27, became a hereditary candidate of Ubayd Allah al-Ahrar. In his early years, Nura was equipped with knowledge in theology and medicine from various masters, having travelled and preached in Western and Central Asia, as well as the Indian subcontinent, over a period of 23 years. After that, Nura and Muhammad Yusuf came to Xinjiang and resided in Turfan and Yarkant respectively. Nura served Mansur Khan, whereas Yusuf was treated as a notable state advisor of Said Khan; serving different political patrons, therefore, pertained to a sibling rivalry between Nura and Yusuf. Yusuf died before Nura. Having stayed in Turfan for three years, Yusuf finally visited Yarkant and served as Said Khan's spiritual mentor in the khan's last years. Time passed quickly, and both Nura and Yusuf amounted to nothing till their death.

The third branch started with Hazrat Maulana Muhammad Qazi, (born Muhammad bin Burhan-ud-Din, d. 1515 AD) and his disciple, Ahmad Kasani. Qazi, in his early years, served his religious master, Ubayd Allah al-Ahrar, in Samarkand and later al-Ahrar took him as a favorite in his lineage. But his

8 Fei Hong (費宏) et al., *Record of Emperor Zhengde in the Ming Dynasty (Da Ming Wuzi Zhengde shilu 大明武字正德實錄)*, ed. Xu Guangzuo (徐光祚), (N.p: n.p., n.d.), roll 112: 7.

favoritism of Qazi led to jealousy of the *Sayyid's* (al-Ahrar's) offspring and other disciples. As a result, Qazi left for Khorasan, where he later made friends with the famous Mualana Abd ar-Rahman Jami (1414–1492 AD), and was supported by Hazrat Ishan, who conferred the saintly title, Ishan, on him. Qazi, recommended by Ubayd Allah al-Ahrar as the middleman, became the religious advisor (*wazir*) of Mahmud Khan of the Eastern Chaghatai. After Hazrat Ishan's death, Muhammad Qazi travelled to Bukhara, the place where Muhammad Shayabak Khan (1451–1510 AD) appointed Mahmud Khan as the *hakim* (a ruler, sovereign, or governor):

Mahmud Khan, once a disciple of Qazi, supported the foundation of Hazrat Maulana, and showed his support by attending a lecture by Muhammad Qazi one night in winter.⁹

However, the Shi'a Persian attacked Bukhara and Qazi fled to Andijan and Aqsu, where he converted many adherents, whom he led, founding the Naqshbandiyya and establishing his prestige... he made his grace for the inhabitants there.¹⁰

In his declining years, Muhammad Qazi was invited by Kochkunju Muhammad bin Abul-Khayr Khan to come back to Bukhara, where he died on February 2, 1516 AD (922 AH, the New Year's Day). Muhammad Qazi was "a scholar with versatile knowledge,"¹¹ and whose works included his *Salsalat ul Arifin*, containing three parts and fifty chapters. His teacher, Ubayd Allah al-Ahrar, wrote an introduction to his book in which rules for Naqshbandi believers are stated,

Including, persuading others to listen to Islamic teachings, researching on the authenticity of scriptures, refraining from any contact with dervishes, keeping away from heresies, and so on.¹²

In fact, Muhammad Qazi was the best defender of the tradition as the fourth descendent of the Naqshbandiyya, and from whom Makhdum-i Azam took his descending *tariqah*. Makhdum-i Azam, meaning "the Great Master," was the title given to Ahmad Kasani. The text, *Churas Khronika*, traced the ten ancestors in the same blood tie before Kasani, who was later mentioned in the

⁹ See n. 7, *supra*.

¹⁰ Mirza-Muhammad-Haidar-Dughlat, 273.

¹¹ Ibid., 90.

¹² Ibid., 87.

Chronicles of Khwaja and *Biography of Khwaja* (*Dahuojia zhuan* 大霍加傳) as the 21st and 24th descendant of “the saintliest prophet Ali” respectively.

But the events recorded in these biographies were only traced back to Kasani's great grandmother, Kama. According to various documents, he was a descendant of the 17th saint, coming from Medina to the Fergana Valley (in modern Uzbekistan) where he married the daughter of the local sultan who gave birth to Burhanuddin. Their son was initially selected as the heir to the throne, but later became a Sufi dervish. *Chronicles of Khwaja* recorded his son as Jalauddin Jushiwaci.¹³ This man is recorded in *History of Lashide* as Maulana Jalauddin al-Damani. He was one of the great Islamic thinkers of Central Asia and authored *Akhlaq-e Jalali* (*Jalalean Ethics*). He was the spiritual guide of Khwaja Nuri for six years, and finally died in 1502. Mahtum Azamunai Jalaudin was born at Dahbid village of Samarkand in 1461 (or 1462) and lived in a *kala* [measure of land area] of pastureland. He moved to Samarkand and studied in a *madrasah* in Tashkent. He later joined the Naqshbandiyya and became a *murid* (a Sufi disciple) of Muhammad Qazi. At last he became the fifth descendant of the Naqshbandi leader until his death in 1542–1543 AD. Ahmad Kasani was not only seen as the pillar of Islamic theology and Sufism, but was also a prolific writer leaving behind three volumes at his death, including thirty letters about the theory and practice of the Naqshbandiyya that advocates universal monotheism in a modest and simple manner. He concedes that Sufis should primarily live in *khanagah*, or wander elsewhere for the primary purposes of preaching and teaching principles of Sufi practices which are regarded as being in opposition to solitary asceticism. He opted for silent *dhikr*, but grew willing to accept *sama*, the loud *dhikr* and dancing. Compared to his predecessors, Kasani was undoubtedly an open-minded leader who tolerated much and was prepared to accept religious views and differences among different Sufi sects, thus opening new terrain for the development of Naqshbandiyya. He also preached in Turkmen, Kazakh, Tajik, Uzbek and other areas in Central Asia, and achieved great success.

After the death of Said Khan of Yarkant in 1533 AD, Abu Rashid Khan succeeded the throne. He then negotiated peaceful terms (the Treaty of Peace and Alliance) with Uzbek Chief Ubaydullah Sultan by arranging royal marriages between the two states. This counteracted the threats from the Kazakhs. During Abu Rashid's negotiations with the Uzbeks, Ahmad Kasani, with his revered title, *Sayyid*, chaired such negotiations and synchronically preached his Sufism. He paid visits to the oases of south Xinjiang, and advocated Sufi

13 H.G. Schwarz, “The Khwajas of Eastern Turkestan,” *Central Asiatic Journal* 10, no. 4 (1976); Chinese translation in *The History of the Northwest* (*Xibei shidi* 西北史地) 3 (1983): 123.

teaching by flexibly adapting to local customs, which subsequently gained respect from Yarkant leaders and converted many adherents. Noticing Kasani's rise of prestige, Abu Rashid Khan conferred the rank of *wazir* on Kasani with lavish offerings of lands being granted to him. He later married in Kashgar and after successfully negotiating with the Uzbeks, he went back to Central Asia and was buried in a famous mausoleum in his hometown, Dahbid.

3

Makhdum-i-Azam (Ahmad Kasani) was the originator of the Xinjiang Khwaja clans. Khwaja (or Khwajar) was phonetically translated into Chinese characters in the following ways: (*He Jia* 和加), (*He Zhe* 和者), (*He Li* 和禮), (*Huo Jia* 霍加), (*Huo Zhuo* 霍卓), (*Hua Zhe* 華哲), (*Zua Zhe* 華者), (*Hua Zhe* 花哲), (*Huo Zhe* 火者), (*Hu Zhe* 虎者), (*Ga Cha* 噶查), (*Hu Cha* 湖查). Schwarz defines the term:

The term Khwaja or Khodja was often and widely used in Central Asia historically. They originated from the Persian word, *khvājah*, meaning lord or master, and then it appeared in forms of “coja” in Marco Polo's writing, “cosa” in Marignolli's, “ghoya” in Persian and “coia” in Turkic.¹⁴

Furthermore, Akira Haneda confirmed the meaning of Khwaja:

Khwaja was the title of an important official in the Samarkand Dynasty, and later a noble title, or a reverend salutation. In Osman-Turkish, “Khwaja” means ‘the most supreme class.’¹⁵

In Central Asian Islam, Khwaja was equivalent to a salutation [an honorific title] for revered scholars and the saintly descendants from Prophets Muhammad and Ali. Not restricted, like *Sayyid*, which refers to the holy descendants of Prophet Muhammad, the use of Khwaja is extended to the descendants of the Four Great *Khalifa* (successors), though in the *Dictionary of Uyghur*, Robert B. Shaw made a special note:

14 Ibid.

15 Akira Haneda, “History of East Turkestan (Japanese),” in *History of Surroundings of China (Geography and History of China 6)* (Tokyo: Popular Publishing Co. Ltd., 1943).

Khwaja is a person called *Sayyid*, which has been inherited from the offspring of other clans carrying this entitlement. This is also applied to the descendants of that person who passed the title to his most favored.¹⁶

The alternative meaning of Khwaja (or *Sayyid*) is the holy descendants of Ali and Fatimah. Despite the fact that, the proof of ancestry for many who claimed the title *Sayyid* was often not reliable, they were highly respected in Islamic society, especially in the Chaghatai Dynasty where clerics were treated as a special, privileged class with power. The Naqshbandiyya was, of course, dominated by a handful of such clerics, who were called *Sayyid*, and their leaders were called Khwaja. That is why the Naqshbandiyya are called the Sentries of the Khwaja (*Hezhuo Gang* 和卓崗). The clans of Kashgari Khwaja, which were founded by Makhdumi Azam, were involved in the competition with others who plotted and competed for the title of Khwaja. This socio-historical background of the Naqshbandiyya laid the setting of the hereditary system of religious power and endowment that enabled all the clans playing this power game to become more and more corrupt. They became highly motivated to seize power, and further divisions in the sect resulted. Owing to this power game, the three branches of the Naqshbandiyya after Makhdumi Azam, collectively called “the clans of Kashgari Khwaja” by historians, entered into Xinjiang. The first branch was led by Ishaq Wali, the seventh son of Makhdumi Azam (some historical documents show him to be the fourth son), who did not obtain the authorization to preach from his father, but rather from his cousin Maulana Ufuf; after Issaq from his disciples Mafamodhan and Usturhal transmitted to Issaq’s son Khwaja Sadi; then from Usturhal’s son Khwaja Said Mohammad to Sadi’s son, Ubaidulla. After Ubaidulla the transmission was entirely within the same family. Issaq, using the Naqshbandi sect as the basis and using the Jahriyya *dhikr*, the Maulavi *sama* (‘listening’ ritual) and borrowed doctrines from the Qadariyya established an innovative *suluk* (way of journeying on the Sufi pathway) in his own name.¹⁷ Starting in 1680s and in the following 100 years, Malhud Sultan and his successors in Yarkant constantly sponsored

16 “Introduction and Commentaries on Khwajas (*He Dan chuan-daoyan pingjie* 和單傳・導言評介),” in *A Collection of Translated Texts in History and Ethnology (Minzu shiye wenji* 民族史譯文集) (Beijing: Zhongguo shehui kexue yuan minzu yanjiusuo lishi yanjiushi ziliao, 1980), 70.

17 Chen Guoguang, “Ishaqiyya in Xinjiang Islamic history: a treatise of the Jahriyya in China (*Xinjiang Yisilianjiao shisheng de Yisihakaye—jianlun woguo Zheheli ye menhuan de laiyan* 新疆伊斯蘭教史上的伊斯哈克耶——兼論我國哲合林耶門宦的來源),” *Studies in the World Religions (Shijie zongjiao yanjiu* 世界宗教研究) 1 (1987).

the Ishaqiyya, which replaced the clan of Muhammad Sharif Pir who had paramount influence on Said Sultan and the Errshiddin family. The Ishaqiyya had the most advantageous position among the three branches as they owned land and endowments in Faizabad in Payzawat close to Kashgar, in nine villages in the Toksun region south and southeast of Yarkand, and in Aheya near Aksailai and Aksu which is now called Uqturpan, thus forming an economic base of serfs and courtyards. Following the subsequent rule of the Dzungars, the Ishaqiyya were called the “Black Mountaineers” and they ousted their religious opponents, the “White Mountaineers” in south Xinjiang with military aid from the remaining forces of Yarkant, the Kazakhs, and the Kyrgyz. However, after having united Yarkant for seven years, followed by an independent rule of thirty-five years, the Ishaqiyya were attacked by the White Mountain Group. It was then uprooted, with most of the adherents killed and the survivors fleeing to Merv.

Muhammad Yusuf, the fourth son of Muhammad Amin and the grandson of Makhdumi Azam, founded the second branch by inheriting the *tariqah* (lineage) via his elder brother Hassam (哈色木). The branch featured Khufi rituals and dervishes who were the core group of organization, and its teachings were therefore characterized as religious fanaticism. The leaders, as descendants, were called Ishan,¹⁸ and Muhammad Yusuf was called “Ishani Kalan” (in Persian “Kalan” means lion). His *suluk* (*Suluke* 蘇魯克, Sufi group, faction, Ishan group) was also called the “Ishqi.”¹⁹ Muhammad Yusuf entered Xinjiang in the 1720s and founded the “White Mountaineers.” The sect claimed their ancestral legitimacy with inherited entitlements, and came and fought for their zones of influences against the “Black Mountain Group.” They owned vast lands in Boshikeranmu, Kalasa'erke and Aheya in Kashgar. Afaq (the eldest son of Mahmud Yusuf), during his lifetime, ruled over south Xinjiang twice in sixteen years, and led Kashgar separately with the Black Mountain Khwajas in seven years. The descendants of Afaq Khwaja, Khwaja Burhanuddin and Khwaja Khwajai Jahan, revolted against the Qing and were subsequently oppressed by the Qing army. The clan of Khwaja Yhaya (younger brother of

18 Ishan was translated in Chinese as (*yi shan* 依鄯, *yi shan* 伊善, *yi chan* 依禪). According to Vasily Vladimirovich Bartold (Wilhelm Barthold), the word was originally used in the third-person plural, and it was transformed to a reverend salutation to the powerful, later used in Central Asian Islam as a title for religious officials. Equivalent to “Pir” or “Shaikh (Sheikh).” See: Vasilii Vladimirovich Bartold, *Collected Writings of Vasilii Vladimirovich Bartold (Baetuolide Xuanji 巴爾托利德選集)* (Moskva: n.p., 1966), roll 6: 675.

19 See n. 18, *supra*.

Afaq), however, opposed any military confrontation with the Qing, and he was thus treated well by the Qing court. The ending of the oppression resulted in Abu Hali, the younger son of Burhan al-Din, being captured and imprisoned in Beijing. Burhan al-Din's elder son, Khwaja Saadat Ali, commonly called Sarimsak, fled to Kokand; the *hakim* of the states in Central Asia conferred the title of *ture* [sometimes translated as 'prince'] on the descendants of the Kashgari Khwaja clans.²⁰ Later, these descendants revolted again against the rule of Emperor Daoguang of the Qing and his court, but ultimately failed.

The third branch started from Dost Khwaja (*Duosi hezhuo* 多斯和卓), the second son of Makhdumi Azam. It was alleged that Dost Khwaja was supposed to be the successor of Makhdumi Azam, but because of intense sibling rivalry his title of *khalifa* was granted in name only. Documents on Qing history recorded that this clan handed down the title of *khalifa* in a single lineage, through the latest branch to enter Xinjiang and follow the Qadriyya with its *sunnah* called Jahriyya. Khwaja Yhaya (Ush Khwaja), grandson of Dost Khwaja, was called the "Buddhist Khwaja," a term that is equivalent to "leaving home cleric" (*Chujiaren* 出家人) in Chinese, or "dervish" in the Hui communities. The political stance of the clan, as suggested by their religious beliefs, was characterized by non-attachment to the secular matters that the Black and White Mountaineers had pursued. Because of this stance, Khwaja Yhaya was temporally elected by the religious leaders as the agent of the Dzungars²¹

20 Please refer to (喬汗·瓦利漢諾夫著作選集) (俄文版) (*Qiaohan walihannuofu zhu-zuo xuanji*) (Russian version) written by 阿拉木圖 (*Alamutu*), 1958, pp. 520, 522. *Ture* (*Ture* 吐熱) (or 條勒 (*Tiaole*) and 托熱 (*Tuore*)), first appears in the edicts and laws of Genghis Khan. *Turah* (*Tula* 圖刺)—the royal title once given to the heirs and sons of a khan—was extended to the salutation of Ishan and heirs of Khwajas. In Islamic society, *Ture* was the alternative word for addressing saints or *Sayyid*, tracing back to Ulmah the Saint. However, "another condition of saying this includes the terms to address saintly descendants of *Sharif* and *Sayyid*. Khwajas can be addressed as *Ture*, but this does not mean Khwaja and *Ture* are mutually inclusive; in other words, the descendants of *Ture* cannot be called Khwaja... *Ture* is commonly used by Turks and Persians, but not by Arabs. See: 庫爾班·阿力·瓦立德·阿吉·哈裡德別克 (Kuerban Ali Walide Aji Halidebanke), *History of Five Families in the East* (*Dongfang wuzu shi* 東方五族史) (N.p: n.p., n.d.). In roll 1 of this book we can find the reference to the name of 聖賢阿派克 (*Apike* the Saint) and other titles; in roll 3 of this book can find the section talking about the "meaning of '烏爾達' (*Wuerda*). The original text is written in Tatar, the author follows the Chinese translation by Xinjiang Shehui Kexueyuan Zongjiao Yanjiusuo. The evidence historically notes the use of *Ture* and Kashgari Khwajas' decline in power.

21 Shi Bu (史部), ed., *Records of people who have prominent merits in Hui Mongolia* (*Qinding waifan Menggu Huibu wanggong biao* 欽定外藩蒙古回部王公表傳) (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1987), roll 117.

who held hostage the Khwajas of both Black and White Mountain Khwajas between 1713–1720 AD. Just after Xinjiang was united by Qing forces, Khwaja Yhaya opposed the rebellions launched by Khwaja Burhanuddin and Khwaja-i Jahan who eventually killed Yhaya, while his grandson, Abuduerman (阿布都爾滿), was captured and held in Beijing with more humane treatment than his rebellious clansmen.

All the branches of *tariqah* and Khwajas, as described above, exerted great influence on *menhuan* (Chinese Sufi descent groups which are socio-religious institutions based upon the family of the saint and his successors and followers) in Northwest China. Between 1670 and 1680 AD, Khwaja Afaq first came to Gansu, Qinghai and Lingxia and preached the *Khufyya*, which became the origin of Mutifu and Beijiashang *menhuan*,²² as well as the of Shenmen *menhuan*.²³ His preaching also greatly influenced the Huasi and Qadiuriyya qubba (*gongbei*).²⁴

Moreover, after the unification of Xinjiang, the grandson of Khwaja Yhaya “fled to Bukhara and Khwaja-i Jahan was captured by the Qing” in the twenty-fourth year of Qianlong rule (1759 AD) the Qing force pacified Yarkant and captured Abuduerman. On the way he was sent to Beijing, in Lanzhou, Abuduerman met Papaye (*Babaye* 巴巴爺), a captive by Qing in the rebellion of Khwaja-i Jahan and his brother (Daxiao hezhuo zhiluan 大小和卓之亂), who had taught Haikuo (海闊) with the theological theory of the Qadiuriyya Sufi order.²⁵ His grandfather, Khwaja Yhaya, and Khwaja Burhanuddin belonged to the clan of the Afaqiyya, the relatives of Ipahan (the legendary Fragrant Concubine of Emperor Qianlong who is still a controversial subject) whose grandfather, Apak Khwaja, was in the same generation as Khwaja Afaq. In terms of the *menhuan* history, Abuduerman had the same genealogical

22 Chen Guoanguang, “The Twenty-fifth Descendant from Prophet Ali to the Middle Kingdom: A Historical Validation of the Preaching of Sufism in Xinjiang (*Huihui ershiwushi dou Zhongyuan kou—quanyu Xinjiang Yisilianjiao shenmi Zhuyi zai neidi chuanbu wenti* 回回二十五世到中原考——關於新疆伊斯蘭教神秘主義在內地傳佈問題),” *Studies in the World Religions (Shiji zongjiao yanjiu* 世界宗教研究) 3 (1985).

23 See n. 22, *supra*.

24 Xian Weili (鮮維禮), “The Shanmen Krufiyi in Islam (*Yisilianjiao Xianmen Kufriyya* 伊斯蘭教鮮門虎非耶),” quoted from the article written by Mian Weilin (勉維霖), “The Origin of of Sufi Thoughts in the Hui Islam (*Huizu Yisilianjiao Sufipai xueshu sixiang yuanyuan* 回族伊斯蘭教蘇非派學術思想淵源),” *Gansu Ethnic Research (Gansu minzu yanjiu* 甘肅民族研究) 2 (1986).

25 See n. 22, *supra*.

origin as Khwaja Burhanuddin and the Fragrant Concubine.”²⁶ This special genealogical relation was reflected in Haikuo setting up his Qadiriyya *menhuan* dubbed as “the Origin of the Fragrance (*Xiang Yuan Tang*).

Furthermore, two years after the Xinjiang pacification (the twenty-sixth year of Qianlong, 1761 AD), Ma Mingxin completed the Hajj, and later founded his “new religion,” the Jahriyya, under the influence of the Ishaqiyya.²⁷

In addition, Toson-bin was in the lineage of the Naqshbandiyya.²⁸ Imam Rabbani inherited the teaching from Toson-bin. From historical records, the sect originated from the teacher of Imam Rabbani (Ahmad al-Sirhind Khwajas-i), Khwaja Baqi Billah (1563–1603 AD) whose lineage was traced back to Khwaja Ubaidullah Ahrar, a core member of the Naqshbandi family associated with Makhdumi Azam. Emphasizing the *shariah*, al-Sirhindi never gave up the fundamental beliefs when preaching in Xinjiang in the second half of the 18th Century AD, thus forming two divisions, namely Yarkant and Ayinke (阿印科, a township) of Aksu. The Yarkant subdivision further passed its orthodoxy to Touming and Gulumanai (路古瑪乃); whereas Ayinke passed its orthodoxy to Anjihai Taiye and Heilongjiang Taiye.²⁹ The Kashgari Khwaja clans and the sect of Imam Rabbani spread their influence in Kashgar, Yarkant, and Aksu, etc., and had close-knit connections with the local Šufi lodges, or *daotang* (道堂), and other *menhuan* organizations in Xinjiang. According to various historical documents on *menhuan*, the umbrella *menhuan* of the Khufiyya, such as Beizhuang, Hungmen, Dingmen, Tongguai, Lingmingtong and Sal ar, were under the influence of the Naqshbandi, and among these was

26 Ma Tong (馬通), *Brief History of Chinese Islamic Sects and Menhuan* (*Zhongguo Yisilan jiaopai yu menhuan zhidu shilue* 中國伊斯蘭教派與門宦制度史略) (Yinchuan: Ningxia renmin chubanshe, 1995), 351.

27 See n. 23, *supra*. The paper points out that, apparently, Ahmad Yasavi, known as the *Sayyid*, was the founder of Jahriyya—the vocal sect—whose vocal practice was adopted by the Ishaqiyya whose foundation was based upon that of the Naqshbandiyya. This adoption was later reflected by the “new teaching” of Ma Mingxin. “Our Great Master Aziz’s (Ma Mingxin’s) teaching is Khufiyya; his *tariqah* is the Qadiriyya and the Naqshbandiyya, but in China he called his sect as the Jahriyya.” See: Muhammad Mansur (穆罕默德曼蘇爾), *The Orders of the Jahriyya* (*Zheherenye daotong shi* 哲赫忍耶道統史), trans. Ma Zhongjie (馬忠傑) (N.p.: n.p., n.d.).

28 The genealogy was found in 契約 [*Contract*] (N.p.: n.p., n.d.) in the Index of South Xinjiang, Religion Research Centre, South Xinjiang Academy of Social Science.

29 Tan Wutie (譚吳鐵) and Fu Yu (付禹), “A Large-scale Survey on Xinjiang Hui (*Xinjiang Huizu de defang* 新疆回族的大訪),” *Research Materials in Xinjiang Religion* (*Xinjiang zongjiao yanjiu ziliao* 新疆宗教研究資料) Special edition (1986).

the sect of Imam Rabbani, which has been seen as a force behind the restoration of the orthodoxy of Chinese Islam in recent centuries.

As we have examined, this chapter aimed to analyze the major aspects of how the Naqshbandi sects formed, their development with Khwaja in Xinjiang, China, and their linkages with northwest *menhuan*. Through their genesis, the development of the Naqshbandiyya gave rise to an exegesis of how these Sufi sects were produced in terms of their different religious practices, the development of which was closely tied to Central Asian politics and economies. The Naqshbandiyya started from its third descendant, Khwaja Ahrar, who came to the historical stage as a dominant force. Through faithful practice of Machiavellianism, the Naqshbandiyya established its power base in the Chaghatai Khanate and opened the gate to Xinjiang. The descending disciples of Khwaja Ahrar divided into three branches and entered Xinjiang to preach, each in their respective historical sequences. Among the three, Makhdumi Azam is best known for his paramount influence in Xinjiang. Often regarded as a revered leader with modesty, simplicity, great tolerance and yet with his principles, Makhdumi Azam was a man who grounded his preaching on the practical needs of Xinjiang, therefore laying a foundation for Kashgari Khwaja to be a pillar of the Yarkant Dynasty. The Kashgari Khwaja, in the 17th Century AD, was a newly-fledged religious bloc in the upper echelon, and it fissioned into numerous branches after rounds of purges. And yet its fission thus generated various *sunnahs* and rituals that steered its development in multiple ways. This development, of course, did not merely create reformist sects, but also more heretical elements were added to them. As the purges intensified among the Khwaja clans, they finally uprooted the Yarkant Dynasty's rule and gave a chance to the Dzungars who invaded and ruled over Yarkant as a theocracy. However, due to the economic basis of courtyard economies owned by these Khwaja families, these familial religious sects had the power to permeate civic life and organize military forces in rivalry according to differences in beliefs and practices, such as Black and White Mountain Khwajas as described above. The Khwaja, with their unquestioned, unchallenged, supreme power, appointed or deposed an official and determined the life or death of the commoners at their own whim, thus controlling every aspect of Islamic society. What we have examined about Xinjiang history is a history of the Kashgari Khwaja, who were the agents who brought out the evolution and development of Sufism. Owing to religious rivalry and purges, the hereditary arrangements of each Kashgari Khwaja clan played a pivotal role in the changes of the politics with their historically specific meanings. In other words, Khwaja clans, some of which had accepted some successors (*khalifa*) with no blood

ties to the clan, became hereditary after a khanate had been established. This synarchy driven by the hereditary arrangements of the Khwaja not only took roots in the politics of Xinjiang history, but also in determining certain key features of the northwest *menhuan* through the Naqshbandi preaching.

Historically, three out of four major *menhuan* in China were linked to Kashgari Khwaja and their *sunnah*. Historical fact shows that after replacing Buddhism as a dominant religion in Central Asia in the late Ming Dynasty, Islam extended its influence in Xinjiang, by unceasingly assimilating development, frequenting exchanges with Chinese Muslims and becoming an integral part of Chinese national traditions. The progress Sufism has made shows its nationalization and Sinicization; the excessive development of Sufi sects, however, led to negative impact on the spiritual and cultural development of various ethnic groups in China, and a small number of ambitious religious leaders is on the flip side of such negative development that put the goal of unification in danger. Notwithstanding this, the preaching and organization of Sufism objectively gave rise to a national consciousness of Muslims of different nationalities within China; this kind of consciousness is, of course, not only defined by religious doctrines. After all, the overall influences of Sufism on the national psyches of Muslims could be proved by the Dungan Revolt launched by the Northwest Hui, and reflected in the Black Mountain Khwajas' diverting to the Qing for national unity and opposing the rebels and their "ghaza."³⁰

30 Na Yancheng (那彥成), *Suggestions to the King (Na wenyi gong zouyi 那文毅公奏議)* (Shanghai: Shanghai guji shudian, 1995), roll 78.

Sufism and Islam at the Turning Point from the Ming Dynasty to the Qing Dynasty

Zhou Xiefan

Abstract

Both the Ming and Qing dynasties were crucial to the development of Chinese Islam, according to *A Genealogy of Islamic Scholars and Canons* (*Jingxuexi zhuanpu* 經學系傳譜) and other historical materials. The spread of Sufism, introduced to Northwest China from Central Asia, not only “Islamized” the northwest, but also became widely accepted in Han regions, thus influencing *madrasah* education, Chinese translations of Islamic texts and a later school of metaphysical thought. Sufi sects, such as the Naqshbandiyya order and its subdivisions, were called Ishan sects after their dissemination in Xinjiang, and further circulation in the Hexi Corridor. Such sects, also called *menhuan*, become a subject of academic research that offers clues to help organize information on the development of Chinese Islam (especially in the Ming and Qing Dynasties).

Keywords

Sufism – China – Islam

1 The Introduction of Sufism in China

Sufism is a sect that emerged from mysticism in Islamic thought. After rounds of successions of family clans and Caliphs, some pious disciples, having interpreted certain *suras* of the Quran, imitated Muhammad’s early practices

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that emphasize asceticism. At the beginning of the 8th Century AD, asceticism, as a branch of Islamic thought, was widespread among Sufis in terms of practices of austerity, long hours of prayer, self-reflection, solitary life and retreat. These were a form of passive protest against profligates, plutocracy and party struggles in defiance of their current social atmosphere. In the late 8th Century AD, such asceticism developed as mysticism, and emphasized subjective intuition and internal, religious experiences that broke through the restraints of tedious religious doctrines and rituals. By the 9th Century AD, much academic attention had been given to Sufism, which later became a subject of systematic discourse in academic writings. Such writing shattered the position of established Islamic scholars who saw Sufism as heresy. By the 11th Century AD, al-Ghazali, the authority on Islam at the time, wrote about and took Sufism as a branch of established Islamic thought; his contribution to Sufism was both a revitalization of Islam and the making of a modest version of the extremity of Sufism. By the 12th Century AD, the spreading but loosely organized Sufi sects became tightly structured, converting more adherents from non-Sufism and non-Islamic traditions. Meanwhile, they adopted indigenous beliefs and customs, thus making Islam and Sufism popular religions. Meanwhile, thinkers and poets of Sufism, such as Ibn Arabi (1165–1240 AD) and Rumi (1207–1273 AD), offered systematic treatises and metaphorical representation of Sufism, which was inclined to be polytheistic, and directed many Muslims to mysticism. After the 15th Century AD, adherents, required to absolutely obey their sheikhs, were directed to collective *muraqaba* (the Sufi word for meditation) and organization, and sheikhs thereby possessed wealth and secular power. While the established Islamic scholars attacked Sufi practices such as visitations, more formal organizations of Sufi orders emerged in all corners of the Islamic world as a religious form of dominance before the 18th Century.

Owing to limited historical information, the exact time of Sufism's introduction into China has not been fixed. The renowned Sufi martyr Abu al-Mugit Husayn Mansur al-Hallaj (857–922 AD) preached Sufism in both India and Central Asia (905–912 AD) and finally in Gaochang near to modern Turpan. His trip, about which he spoke to his family, was to convert non-Sufi believers, but mention of this trip has not been found in historical records. According to personal narrative, after having followed a caravan of paper-trade merchants from China to Baghdad, he was arrested and imprisoned and his last words before execution influenced Yunus Emre and Admet Yesevi in creating poems of Turkic mysticism.¹

1 Annemarie Schimmel, *Mystical Dimensions of Islam* (Duke: The University of North Carolina Press, 1975), 62–77.

In the Islamic world, wherever individuals preached along coasts or inland, they were more or less connected to Sufism. The preaching of al-Hallaj, indicates Sufism was first introduced in Central Asia and Northwest China at the beginning of the 10th Century AD. Furthermore, Wilhelm Barthold writes,

Sufi (masters) also went to the Turks of the Steppe and declared their faith in Islam. Until recently, they (Sufis) succeeded in converting people more significantly than the established doctrines (of Islam per se). Sufi masters never preached Eternal Happiness and Holy War, but sin and suffering in hell... From this point of view (of Sufi preaching), Islam never provided any new contents for the Turks, who learned the same stories from Buddhist monks, Manichean and Catholic clergymen. Nonetheless, Islam succeeded in its widespread influence on the Turkic population.²

After the execution of al-Hallaj, Satuq Bughra Khan of the Kara Khanids was taught and then converted by a Sufi, Abu-an-Nasr, from Bukhara. Satuq later proclaimed himself as Abdukerim Khan in 915 AD, and in 943 AD, ordered a *fatwa* and committed patricide to usurp the Khanate. His son, Musa Arslan Khan, sought advice from the Sufis as chamberlains (*wazirs*, or viziers) to rule the Khanate with Islamic doctrines. In 960 AD, some 200,000 Turks were converted to Islam, and so the Kara Khanids became an Islamic nation that frequently waged wars (*jihad*) throughout several decades against the Khotans and the Gaochang Uyghurs, many of whom were Buddhists.

In the times of the Western Liao (Kara Khitan Khanate, 1124–1218 AD), Abu Yaqub al-Hamadani (d. 1140 AD) came to Merv and became a sheikh of Turkic Sufism. He was praised as “the Imam of his times who knows the secrets of souls and their working.”³ He learned from his teachers, Sheikhs Ibrahim ibn Ali ibn Yusuf al-Fairuzabadi and Abu Ishaq al-Shirazi, and it was alleged that he encouraged Abd al-Qadir al-Jilani to preach publicly. Yaqub al-Hamadani never knew a Turkic language, and yet his pupils were the founders of Turkic Sufism. The third successor (*khalifa*) of his pupil, Ahmad Yasawi (1093–1166 AD), was called “Ata Yasawi,” and was supposedly the founder of the Yasawiya order. He was the first to sing the *dhikr* (constant remembrance of Allah) loudly and he influenced the subsequent development of Sufism among the Turkic tribes, a point that was never underestimated. His pupils later founded the

2 Wilhelm Barthold, *Twelve Lectures on the History of Turks in Central Asia* (*Zhong Ya Tujue shi er jiang* 中亞突厥史十二講), trans. Luo Zhiping (羅致平) (Beijing: China Social Science Press, 1984), 72–73.

3 Schimmel, 329, 364.

Yasawiya Sufi sect, and one of them was well-known Abdul Khaliq Gajadwani (d. 1220 AD). His teaching was considered *tariqah-yi Khwajagan* (way of the Khwaja teachers) and was dubbed “The Khwaja sect.” Bahauddin Naqshband Bukhari (1318–1389 AD) learned from Muhammad Baba as-Samasi and Sayyid Amir Kulal and inherited the vocal *dhikr*, but the Naqshbandiyya preferred the silent *dhikr* as advocated by Gajadwani, who had founded the eight principles, or so called rules or secrets of the Naqshbandi.⁴

In the time of the Western Liao, the Yasawi order was the dominant sect of all Turkic tribes, especially the Kazakhs. The introduction of *taqiyyah-yi Khwajagan* to Xinjiang was dated earlier than the earliest circulation and influence of Yasawi in the same region. According to sources related to the history of the 12th Century AD, a ruler in Kashgar was a pupil of Gajadwani. In March 1220, Genghis Khan besieged and pillaged Burkara, executed Hafizuddin, and deported Maulana Shujauddin Mahmud to Karakorum. Circa 1256 AD, their family went to Lob Katak in South Xinjiang. As Jamal al-Din became the sheikh of Katak, he, along with his family fled from danger because the place was ruined by a sandstorm, and he coincidentally trespassed onto the game reserve of Tughlugh Timur Khan, who was, in 1347, enthroned as khan of the Eastern Chaghatai Khanate. At this time, Jamaluddin sent his son, Maulana Arshadundin to Tughlugh who became Muslim. According to *Tarikh-i-Rashidi*, on the day that Tughlugh declared his Muslim conversion in Aqsu, about 160,000 Chaghatai (Moghulistan) Mongol-Turks followed as well. Related to this mass conversion, a wooden plaque was hung on the hall of the Arshad-un-Din Mazar in Kuqa County (*Kuche Xian* 庫車縣) in Xinjiang, with the Chinese characters 天方列聖 (*Tianfangliesheng*, The Saints of Mecca), and a detailed inscription reading, “In the times of Emperor Lizong of Song, a saint named Maulana Arshadundin came from a nation far away to Kuqa to preach the ways of Mecca and convert hundreds of thousands of Tughlug (*Tuheluku* 土胡魯庫) tribes to Islam. That was a great event in history.” In the quote above, “Tughlug” was a synonym of “Tughlugh” (*Tuheilu* 禿黑魯) in Chinese transliterations; “Maulana” means “Damulla.” But, according to folklore, the first Sufi approaching Kuqa was an Indian sheikh called Nizamuddin, circa 1267, and his mausoleum was built in Kuqa.

After having converted the Tughlugh to Islam, Maulana Arshad-un-Din was given the status of Imam, a position that was second only to the royals of the Eastern Chaghatai Khanate. The Emperor had to take formal counsel of the Imam with the latter’s approval on religious grounds before appointing

4 J. Spencer Trimingham, *The Sufi Orders in Islam* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1974), 62–65.

any officials. In this regard, with the support of Tughlugh Timur Khan, Arshad-un-Din thus created a magnetic center that lured many *mullah* and sheikhs and established the Kucha sect that preached and influenced the surrounding areas.

Before the Yuan Dynasty, Kuqa was called *Qiuci* (龜茲). Having been introduced in the Han Dynasties, Buddhism reached its height in the Tang Dynasty, and Khotan, Kuqa and Gaochang were thought to be the three major centers of Buddhism in Central Asia during this period. After the Song dynasties, Buddhist influences withered, but it still remained the dominant religion in Central Asia. After the Kara Khanids were converted to Islam in the 10th Century AD, Sufism set its center in Kashgar, the capital of the Kara Khanids, influencing both the north and south Tarim Basin towards the east. At the beginning of the 11th Century, Sufism broke through the basin's geographical barriers by subduing Buddhist Khotan in a 40-year long *jiḥād*. This victory was a remarkable event that signified the extent of Islamic influence on the east. Located on the north circuit of the Silk Road, Kuqa was free from wars at that time because its eastern front bordered only Aqsu and Baicheng, which were several hundred kilometers away from Kuqa at the edge the Gobi Dessert. However, the confrontation between the Kara Khanid Muslims and Gaochang Buddhists continued into the 13th century AD. With regard to this continuing confrontation, Barthold adds, "the introduction of Islam in Gaochang was somewhat more difficult than other places, because the more civilized Uyghurs had constructed an "invisible wall" that fenced off any Islamic influences from the west."⁵ Kuqa, a prefecture of the Gaochang Uyghurs, was at that time a citadel with strong walls that defended against Islamic influences, but later the territory became a vassal state under the rule of Genghis Khan who kept its borders intact. However, in 1284, after the revolts of Qaidu and Duwa Beg (Khans), the Gaochang Uyghurs were annexed to the Chaghatai Khanate. Fortunately, the Yuan leaders adopted a policy of religious plurality, which recognized their differences and forbade any means to compel a ruled subject in choosing and believing a particular religion. As a result, Buddhism, Nestorian Christianity, and Islam were of equal status in the lands of the Yuan Dynasty. Islam was introduced eastward through Hami, the "bottleneck" of east and west, albeit with limited influence as a result. On the contrary, before the mid-14th Century, Buddhism was still the dominant force in Kuqa and its eastern regions. The primary purpose of founding the Kucha sect by Khwaja

⁵ Barthold, 87.

Arshad-un-Din was to uproot the persistent Buddhist influences on Kuqa with the opportune support of the Chaghatai Khanate.

Given the financial support of the Chaghatai Khanate, Arshad-un-Din built his khanagah (the Sufi lodges, or *daotang* 道堂), *masjids* (Arabic, meaning “place for (ritual) prostration; the word that “mosque” derived from), established official systems, printed scriptures and other writings related to Sufism, and finally set Kuqa as the center and sent preachers to neighboring city states such as Aqsu, Xayar, Yanqi and Turfan. Meanwhile, Tughlugh Timur Khan issued a decree that ordered inhabitants subject to his rule to convert to Islam; Buddhist temples were demolished by force; Buddhist scriptures were burned; Buddhist monks were persecuted. Between 1359 and 1361, those *begs* or emirs (Mongolian military commanders, notably Amir Husayn and Timur) who were opposed to the policy of wholesale conversion decreed by Tughlugh Timur Khan plotted a revolt against him from Almaliq. The message of the revolt was then circulated to Kuqa and Xayar, where tens of thousands of Buddhist monks joined the revolts that immediately made the Kuqa Sufi sect act in desperation. Hearing the news of the revolt, Tughlugh Timur Khan led his army to subdue it and deported the monks who participated in it to the northern borders of Afghanistan and east of Dunhuang; as a result of that Buddhism was thereby completely uprooted in Kuqa, and the surviving Buddhist believers were converted to Islam. Kuqa became the Arshad-un-Din's clan's religious territory where they promoted the Sufi order. Of course, the clan was the principle beneficiary of the religious tax in Kuqa, in addition to the annual donations from the national treasury of the Eastern Chaghatai Khanate. Furthermore, securing different sources of revenues derived from various forms of *waqf* (communal properties), the clan owned and dominated local infrastructure such as farming land, waste management and market stalls.

Ilyas Khwaja (d. 1368), the son of Tughlugh Timur Khan, succeeded his throne in 1363 AD, and Barthold here writes, “Ilyas Khwaja had previously launched *jihad* (holy war) and attacked two Khitan-bordered citadels, Kara Khwaja and Turfan, and forced the inhabitants right there to become Muslim.” Abu-Nasir, the second son of Arshad-un-Din, joined the holy war by secretly organizing riots in Kara Khwaja as a flank of the major army force led by Ilyas Khwaja. Later, Abu-Nasir fought to his death in Turfan, and a nearby mausoleum was built to commemorate his death. In collaboration with the Kuqa Sufi sect, Ilyas Khwaja completely destroyed the Buddhist armed forces defending Gaochang and forced the conquered to convert to Islam. Buddhism in the region, thereafter, declined though it was sustained for another half-century.

According to the “Chapter on Turfan” in the *History of the Ming*, “in 1408 AD, Qingli, a monk of Turfan, led his disciples and paid tribute to the Celestial Court, the Son of Heaven (the Emperor) ordered them to enlighten His secular inhabitants by conferring the title of highest Buddhist mentor of the Court (*Guanding Cihui Yuan Zhipuying guoshi* 灌頂慈慧圓智普應國師) on Qingli with seven disciples of senior Buddhist monks from Turfan.” In 1420 AD, an emissary sent by Shahruh Bahadur (1377–1447 AD) was en route in Turfan and reported, “Most of the inhabitants believed in Buddhism; numerous temples shone with their broad and huge structures.” The above historical evidence shows that although Khidr Khwaja conquered Turfan, they failed to convert all the residents to Islam. Around 70 years later, according to “Chapter on Turfan” in the *History of the Ming* again, Kebek (1416–1486 AD) proclaimed himself Sultan in 1465, and Almad Alaḡ succeeded after Yunus’s death. In this period Turpan was completely under the influence of the eastern Chaghatai Khanate that turned Turpan as the state’s capital.

The Arshad clan, named as the “Khwaja” or the descents of Muhammad, founded the Kuqa sect under the order of Gajadwani, who was once the closest disciple of Bahauddin Naqshband Bukhari (whose sect was thereafter named as Bukhari Khwaja), a very important person in the Golden Chains of Sufi orders. The Naqshbandiyya *tariqah* (ways and order) and Yusuf Hamdani are paid with equal respect. Because of this Golden Chain, the Kuqa sect became a subcategory of the Naqshbandiyya order after having been introduced in the 16th century AD in Xinjiang.

After Arshad’s death, his descendants held their positions as *wazirs* of the Chaghatai Khanate. Before the 16th Century AD, the Sufi were not yet in southern Xinjiang where they would be led by the Arshad clan and his Kucha sect, which took Kuqa and Aksu as centers of influence that led Islamic dissemination eastward.

Founded in the 14th century AD, the Naqshbandi sect was revered by the Chaghatai Khanate. Before the leadership of Khwaja Nasir al-Din Ubayd Allah al-Ahrar (1404–1490 AD), the sect obtained its dominant role among other religions. Relying upon his sponsoring relations with Chaghatai Sultan Abu Said Mirza (1424–1469 AD) and Muhammad Shayabak Khan Uzbek (1451–1510 AD), al-Ahrar was a true believer in *realpolitik*: to preach Islam was first to take control of rulers. He was also involved in the internal purges of Eastern Chaghatai and expanded his zones of influence. Awais Khan ibn Sher Ali (ruling 1418–1428 AD) came to the throne but did not follow the advice of the Khwaja Arshad family; instead he took advice from Maulana Muhammad Kashani, who was in the Golden Chain of the Naqshbandiyya *tariqah* descended from Bahauddun Naqshband Bukhari. In fact, Awais attempted to undermine the

religious influences of the Arshad family. Ahmat, the grandson of Arshad-un-Din, relocated the family's influences to south Xinjiang by visiting places in Khotan and Kashgar, but failed because of resistance from local, feudal forces and other religious elders in the Khanate. After Awais's death, the Eastern Chaghatai Khanate was then cleaved into two halves: the younger son of Awais, Esen Buqa II (1429–1462 AD) occupied Eastern Moghulistan, Turfan and Aksu; the elder, Yunus (1456–1487 AD), proclaimed his khanship in Western Moghulistan from the Ili River to Tashkent. Mirza Abu Bakr, the hereditary leader of the Dughlat tribe, declared independence in Kashgar and Khotan in 1468 AD. Khwaja Fahkr opposed Abu Bakr's rule; he further undermined the influences of the Arshad family. Abu Bakr played upon the divide and showed his faith to Ala al-Din Attar Bukhari in order to gain prestige. It was alleged that Abu Bakr, in association with Attar Bukhari, expanded his zones of influences to Yarkant, whose inhabitants, however, resisted, "This is the land of Fahkr, not al-Attar. Under the decree of Fahkr, Mirza Nasir ruled Yarkant in great prosperity." Later Yunus Khan and his son, Sultan Mahmud Khan (ruling 1487–1509 AD), turned their faith to al-Attar, thus forcing the Arshad family to decrease their influence in Aqsu and the East of Kuqa and rely on the Eastern Chaghatai Khanate. Tajuddin, the grandson of Khwaja al-Attar became the pupil of Ubayd Allah al-Ahrar (the leader of all Khwaja) and later the *maulana* (Islamic legal scholar) of Ahmad Alaq (ruling 1485–1504 AD) and Mansur Khan whom he served for fifty years. His historical significance includes acting as a mediator between Ahmad Alaq and Sultan Said (ruling 1513–1533 AD, declaring his independence as the Yarkant Kingdom in Eastern Moghulistan), and establishing a frontier of the jihad against Mirza Qara Del of Hami in 1512, as a result of the Ming-Moghul War. Regarding this war, the *History of the Ming* recorded that in 1513,

Bazek was induced to fight with Manzur Khan and fled, and Khwaja Tajuddin took the seal of Hami and controlled the city, ending a forty-year rivalry. The Khan ordered Tajuddin to defend Hami as the leading insurgent for over forty years, and he did not even ask the Khan for any offerings and gifts, being proud of his accumulation of wealth and self-sustenance of Hami under his defense.

Lastly, "in the holy battle against Khitan (actually Ming China), Manzur Khan witnessed Ziauddin's death with his naked eyes." In 1514, Sultan Said Khan drove away Mirza Abu-Bakr and became the new host of Yarkant and introduced Naqshbandi Sufism from Central Asia to the royal advisors, thereby putting the influences of the Astrad family to an end.

2 Sufi Promulgation in China

The promulgation of Sufism in the rest of China came much later than it did in Xinjiang, as we have seen. Sheikhs Nasruddin and Saïddruddin, father and son, came to Beijing from Khorasan around the time of the Northern Song Dynasty; Ahammad of Ghaznavid, Ali of Burkara and the “wandering” dervish from the West, Puhadin, were alleged to have been Sufis, but there is no supporting documentation. After the Yuan Dynasty, Sufis were recorded in history. *The Statutes of the Yuan Dynasty* (*yuan dian zhang* 元典章) stated, “*dashmands* (*da shi man* 答失蠻), clerics and religious scholars in the mosque, practiced their *tariqah* in mosques without being engaged in production and other economic activities; other dervishes collected donations and other endowments from Muslim households”. In addition, *Huihui* temple (*Huihui Si* 回回寺) was a general Chinese terms for mosques and Sufi lodges. As shown above, the Yuan government regulated the *ulama* (those learned in religion) together with dervishes in their realm of religious activities, and the quoted text shows there was a widespread circulation of Sufism in the Yuan Dynasty.

The Moroccan traveller, Ibn Battuta, recorded that he overheard in Guangzhou, that “there was a venerable sheikh who was over two hundred years old who neither ate nor drank nor excreted nor had intercourse with women, though his powers were intact, and he lived in a cave outside the city, giving himself to devotion.”⁶ As the account shows, the Sufi man fasted throughout his life, practiced asceticism and meditation instead of worshipping in mosques, and therefore attracted many adherents. In Quanzhou, one of the most respected sheikhs, Khwaja Bahaaldin of Kazerun (1229–1370 AD), rebuilt the mosque and was appointed as the Imam.⁷ He worked as if he were an energetic man though he was 120 years old. He set his lodges (*khanaraqah*) on the outskirts of Quanzhou and taught *sharia* and *tariqah*, which were supposed to be a Sufi’s preaching. Abu Isqah, the founder of the Kazeruni *tariqah* (order), was a *Sayyid* from whom many sea tradesmen begged for blessings. In Hangzhou, Battuta met the descendants of Othman b. Affan the Egyptian, and described the meeting as follows, “they have a hospice called the ‘Othmaniya’, handsomely built and well endowed. There is a band of Sufis there”. The ‘Othmaniya was possibly the earliest hospice where Sufis settled in

6 Ibn Battuta, *Tuhfat al-nuzzar fi ghara’ib al-ansar wa-’aja’ib al-asfar* (*Ibn Battuta youji* 伊本·白圖泰遊記), trans. Ma Jinpeng (馬金鵬) (Yinchuan: Ningxia renmin chubanshe, 1985), 551.

7 He Qiaoyun (何喬遠), *Book of the South Barbarians* (*Minshu* 閩書) (Jinan: Qilu shushe, 1996), roll 7.

China twenty years before the coming Kuqa Sufis. Furthermore, Battuta also mentions another Sufi lodge in Beijing.⁸

In the early Ming Dynasty, no private ships were allowed to trade in Chinese ports. A team of caravan tradesmen consisting of 1,200 Muslims approached Liangzhou but they were deported after having settled for a while. No matter how the tributary emissaries came, by sea or on foot, the Ming government imposed tight restrictions on them. All tributary items were recorded and checked by the Superintendents of Customs in advance “without forfeiture and defects.” The extra goods brought along with the tributes could be sold only to state-appointed merchants, not the commoners in the bazaars. These merchants then resold them to the commoners. Such an imposition was attributed to the decline in trade and cultural exchanges between Ming China and Central Asia. In the late Ming Dynasty, when such trade nearly ended, the five largest Muslim clans involved in sea trade, namely Jin (金), Din (丁), Ma (馬), Die (迭) and Xia (夏), moved further inland to fertile farmland, and the Islamic scholars and Sufis coming to China dropped to zero, thereby making the record of Sufism blank in this period. And yet, in terms of *madrasah* education (*jingtang jiaoyu* 經堂教育) and Chinese translations of Islamic texts, we can see the clear interconnections between Sufi orders in China and their historical development.

According to *Jingxuexi zhuanpu* (經學系傳譜), the fervent advocate of such education, Hu Dengzhou (胡登州), was given a book by an old, turban-clad tribute messenger from Mecca called *Maqamat al-Qulub*, which had never been seen in China before. The fourth descendant of Hu, Ma Zhenwu, the founder of Nandou (南都) Scholars, or, as they were commonly called, “*Shengxue*” (嗜學), was inclined to learn *Maqamat al-Qulub*, whose “interpreted meanings exceed the bounds within the words, and ascend a higher rank than that which we (the readers) have reached at the initial stage.”⁹ *Maqamat*, the plural form of *maqam* in Arabic, means place, location, and rank that denote the “original position” In the practice of *dhikr*, an adherent follows the rhythms, melodies and dances, thus opening up a mystical journey of direct, subjective intuition and inner experiences. The practice leads to a psychic condition, or *hal* in Arabic, approaching Allah, a state which Chinese Muslims called “ascending ranks” (*jin ji pin wei* 進級品位). The author of *Maqamat al-Qulub*, (Saint) Nuri (d. 907 AD) made himself famous by saying “I love God and God loves me.” The book given to Hu was even supposed to be *Maqamat Sayyidina* by Said Mubarak, a devoted disciple of Bahaaldin Naqshband Bukhari. This book

8 Ibn Battuta, 557.

9 Zhao, 26–27, 51.

extracted sayings from Bahaiddin and later became one of the two important scripts often studied by Qinghai Muslims.¹⁰

Hu Dunzhou's disciple, Feng Bo'an (馮伯庵), set up his teaching tent in Mohua, Yunnan, and acquired *Mirsad*, the book that "nobody in this land has read before," and "the book has introduced the true ways and can purify the mind to Islam." Feng's disciple, Ma Minglong (馬明龍), an imam in Wubei, recalled that "I feel regret that a deficiency has been found (when learning with my master Imam Feng)." He praised Feng for "his erudite knowledge of the ways and practices in Islam that is competent to that of a respected, turban-clad imam." Feng shuttled from the northwestern borders to Yunnan, and Ma, knowing him to be a true master of Islamic knowledge, followed and discussed it with him, day and night, thereby knowing all the basics. Chang Zhimei (常志美), the fourth descendant of Feng, set up his teaching tent in Jining, "a turban-wearing imam crossed Yunnan, Guangdong and then turned to Fujian, Jiangsu and Shandong, approached the Ji River and settled in my lodge." Chang recalled that, "the Imam frequently had discussions with me, and I kept revising the annotations in *Mirsad*, and I understood a lot about the basic principles—around 70 to 80 percent of its content. I would say I have made a great advance compared to my ancestors. However, I still single out some problems that have yet to be solved." The book, *Mirsad al-ibad*, was one of the most popular texts of Sufism, written by Nadjm al-Din Razi (d. 1256 AD), who was one of the disciples of Bahaaldin Naqshband Bukhari and who established the symbolism using the color spectrum to signify different stages of the psyche and intuited experiences. The book was translated into Chinese and then widely circulated.¹¹

One disciple of Chang, She Qiling (舍起靈), preached and said, "Reading *Mirsad al-ibad* and *Ashiat al-Lamaat* (in acquiring the knowledge of *taqiyyah*), together with a reflection in our hearts of and ways to Islam, is to fit our practices into the principles in the text, and develop a school of our own." In accordance with the requirements of *madrasah* education, *Mirsad al-ibad* was then translated into Chinese and renamed *Origins of the True Ways* (*tui yuan zheng da* 推原正達) in Chinese. Similarly, *Ashiat al-Lamaat* was translated and renamed *The Secret Know-how of the Islamic Way* (*zhao yuan mi jue* 昭元秘訣); *al-Maqsad*, *The Basic Principles of Islamic Ways* (*gui zhen bi yao* 歸真必要) respectively. All three Islamic texts, added She, "are the basic teachings

10 Schemmel, 60, 96.

11 Donald Leslie, *Islamic Literature in Chinese Late Ming and Early Ching* (*Yisilan Han ji kao* 伊斯蘭漢籍考), trans. Yang Daye (楊大業) (Beijing: [s.n.], 1994), 22–23; Schemmel, 257.

to the ways of the hearts and minds of true Muslims.”¹² *Tariqah*, or the ways and methods in Sufi practices, was emphasized in the teachings that, “notwithstanding basic readings in Islamic texts, one cannot understand more deeply in Sufism and its practices without having read these three texts, thereby knowing better and deeper about the true ways to Islam.”¹³ *Ashiat al-Lamaat*, weighing equally important with *Mirsad al-ibad*, was written by Nur ad-Din Abd ar-Rahman Jami (1414–1492 AD), who was once the disciple of Hazrat Shah Ghulam Ali Mujaddidi and renowned for his passionate love as, in Sufism the lover and the Beloved are never separated in the unity and oneness of Allah, and the world is seen as a harmony of this unity of love. His words and poetry referenced the thought of Ibn Arabi, reaching a height of Islamic influence to which no other Islamic texts would be comparable. Jami’s annotations on *Ashiat al-Lamaat* were a bridge to help average believers with the depth of Sufism, and were widely circulated among Chinese Muslims, becoming a classic of *madrasah* education which was ranked higher than *Mirsad al-‘ibad* in the treatise of Islamic metaphysics.

In addition to *al-Maqsad*, which is further validated with other reliable historical sources, *Maqsad-i aqsa*, or “the ultimate ends,” written by Nasafi Aziz b. Muhammad (d. 1281 AD), a Kubrawiya Sufi, was supposedly translated from [Chaghatai] Turkic into Persian. In this book, Sufi practices are to be taken up as the attributes of adherents as set out by Allah so as to allow God and Man to be united together. These include strict rules of fasting, absolute obedience to the teacher, purification of the body, silent *dhikr*, meditation on Allah, getting rid of selfishness, compliance with Allah’s orders and abstinence from praying for rewards from God in the next life.¹⁴ An ancient script written in Persian, found in Gansu, was titled *Maqsad al-Kalam*, or “The Aims of Knowing God, anonymous author.” The book outlines the Sufi practices, *fiqh* (jurisprudence, *feige* 費格) and rituals, spiritual knowledge, silent *dhikr*, and the ways of ascendancy in Islam, Allah and the cosmos, Sufi’s love of Allah, the true light of God and the opening up of a Muslim’s mind, and so on. Perhaps the two books were the same text.

As described above, *madrasah* education and Sufism were closely connected, offering a clue to Sufi studies in China after the Ming Dynasty. According to the Introduction of *Jingxuexi zhuanpu* (經學系傳譜),

12 Zhao, 87–88.

13 Zhao, 87–88.

14 Leslie, 28.

A turbaned sheikh, called Sharif, who was alleged to have committed crimes wandered to China from Khorasan, and never went back. He finally settled in Ganzhou, and following Chinese Islamic customs, he showed his talent by writing 47 books which were circulated in the regions of the Tibetan Plateau. Much of the religious principles and Holy teachings in his books make his texts comparable to the classics (of Islam). And yet, his texts were annotated with his interpretations and revisions with reference to the classics, yet his writing style was exaggerated, and his content obfuscated the priority and weight of different subjects. It did not make any measures of rewards and punishments clear in relation to the present rules and doctrines, nor any reference to the gains and losses of what the predecessors have taught, written and contributed to the four canonical collections of Islam, thus deviating from and defying what Islam has set as the foundation for us.

The above quote refers to the end of the Ming Dynasty, when restrictions on sea trade became lenient, therefore giving leeway to different sects and schools of Islamic thought that resulted in conflicts among Chinese Muslim scholars. After the Manchus overthrew the Ming court, the number of Central Asians entering China and preaching their religion continued to increase.

Thousands of Central Asians went to China and most of them earned their living, others, like Sufis preaching their mystical religion, and Yemeni *ahongs*, declaring their some articles of *fiqh*, sought donations from inhabitants. Abd al-Djalil of Burkara led his caravan with camels loaded with volumes of Islamic texts. He allowed Muslims, as passers-by, to copy these texts in order to rectify their deviation from the true beliefs of the four Islamic canonical collections (or *madhhab*, namely, from the Shafi'i, Hanbali, Zahirī and Jariri schools); he is believed to have been uncorrupt, setting an example for the most corrupt clerics; only one or two never knew his cleanliness against corruption. For those most corrupt, they were the mediocre, flattering the morons, exploiting opportunism, and not knowing what exactly they ought to teach as a result of agitating those whom they have taught. At the behest of our wise Emperor, those scoundrels are driven away from the western borders, stopping further troubles as our Islamic clerics have longed for.¹⁵

15 Zhao, 13.

The fall of the Ming and the subsequent rise of the Qing made the customary control somewhat lenient, and yet Sufism, or “mystical metaphysics” from the West, started its preaching and spurred the spread of *madrasah* education, thereby further circulating Sufism elsewhere in China and laying foundations for different *menhuan*, or sects, in different parts of China in the late Qing Dynasty. *Madrasah* education was not merely a place for diffusing Islamic knowledge and training *ahongs*, but also taking Islamic philosophy, or “metaphysical learning,” as the most advanced course. She Qiling’s library, whose shelves held *Mirsad al-ibad*, *Ashiat al-Lamaat*, *al-Maqsad*, *al-Aqaid*, and *Maqamat al-Qulub*, also had different *fiqh* and *madhhab* texts as the most advanced readings were added to the list. *Al-Aqaid* covers different doctrines; *fiqh* and *madhhab* texts covered Islamic jurisprudence; and all other works concern various aspects of Sufism. The spread of *madrasah* education resulted in the widespread circulation of Sufism that subsequently spurred a growing demand for Chinese translations of Islamic texts even outside the *madrasahs* and in greater depth and breadth to allow for the Chinese acceptance of Sufism.

In the late Ming Dynasty, Ma Minglong in Wubei, a disciple of Feng who was taught by Hu Dengzhou, translated *Mirsad al-ibad* in Chinese and entitled it *Self Knowledge and Reflection (Shar’ia) (ren yi xing wu 認己醒悟)*. Zhang Shaoshan, a descendant of the third generation of Hu Dengzhou, taught Imam Ma Junsi who finally preached in Nanjing, and said, “Many Muslims believed in heresies, and I have thereby written *Defending the True Ways of Islam (wei zhen yao lue 衛真要略)*, which is supposed to be circulated in Jiangsu and Zhejiang.” These texts were supposed to be the earliest Chinese translations. Meanwhile, the Suzhou Imam Zhang Shizhong met Imam Ashige, who had travelled from India by sea and had journeyed all through China for thirteen years across hundreds of thousands of miles. In 1638 AD, Ashige delivered his public lecture with Chinese translation in Nanjing and spent three years there. However, most people took Ashige as merely a foreigner from the west, a “black-legged dervish” in his appearance, with the exception of Zhang Shizhong, who dismissed all stereotyping claims against Ashige from the public. Zhang took Ashige as a revered teacher and made teaching notes for what Ashige preached. *Guizhen zongyi (歸真總義)*¹⁶ was a collection of Zhang’s note of the lecture on *al-Iman al-Mujmal*,

16 Zhang Zhong (張中), “*Guizhen zongyi (歸真總義)*,” in *Comprehensive Records in Islam (Qingzhen dadian 清真大典)*, ed. Zhongguo Zongjiao Lishi Wenxian Jicheng Bianzuan Weiyuanhui (Hefei: Huangshan shushe, 2005).

Profess allegiance to Islam according to your faith by witnessing what happens, now and in the past. And say the secrets of God and Man, or the humbleness and fragility of Man, or the principles of the Ways to Islam, or the fruit of practice that Muhammad has guided for us. Sometimes, we discuss contingencies and illusions of one's life, the deeds of the saints, and schools and scholars of all thoughts.

Zhang, in addition, stressed that the collection was not dealing with the general issues of Islamic faith, and added that "a systematic explanation that unveils the underlying secrets of the originator and creation, the true ways of life, the light in the dark, and the sail to the shores of Dao," and "that the way of the origin and our ways come into union." No one knew the exact surname of Ashige, which means "the utmost fondness of God," and was acceptable as the proper address to a particular Sufi in the earliest days. In Indian Sufi sects, the *ashig* (*Ashige* 阿世格) were members of a high rank, who, however, were not allowed to develop their own branches. They often traveled far and wide to preach. *Al-Iman al-Mujmal* and *Explicanda and Enlightenment of Kalima* (Chinese transcription) dictated by the *ashig* were the important translations of Sufism.

The famous Ming scholar Wang Daiyu (circa 1584–1670 AD), a disciple of Ma Junshi, was a very famous writer of the *Han Kitab*, which influenced the following Chinese translations of Islamic texts in later generations. His *Zhengjiao zhenquan* (正教真詮) and *Qingzhen daxue* (清真大學) indicate, "the collections of these revered manuscripts are qualified with careful referencing of the canonical classics, are not pure speculation even in every detail that defames rather than honors such collections." These collections, including annotated explanations of texts regarding Sufism, became very popular at the time. In *Zhengjiao Zhenquan*, Wang wrote, "the great learning, first and foremost, is to take the true way to Islam, then second to the great learning one should learn how to get constant remembrance of Allah by heart (*dhikr e-Qulb*). Third, a true and constant learner should discipline his or her body; one reveals his or her true character by remembering Allah, and disciplining oneself through his or her ascetic practices and self-restraints is prepared for ruling a country." Alternatively, *Qingzhen daxue* teaches *shahadah* (Muslim testimony of faith) and *kalima* (texts to memorize to learn the fundamentals of Islam). The founding stones of Sufism that Allah, the oneness and the sole originator and creator tacitly manifested into all things, gives all people life and makes them know and connect to Him. In other words, to testify to the oneness of Allah, one should know Allah in all things in the cosmos. This means the testimony of Allah as a finitude of oneness henceforth possesses the tripartite stages of practices,

Sancheng 三乘學 (“three rises” or *Salafiyya* as the continual Wahhabi movement): first, *tawhid*, the knowledge of oneness, comes from a constellation of all contingent things that one gets to know; second, *ittihad*, the fusion of one’s embodiment of the numerous sensations of God, from a dyadic, separate entity to unity; third, the knowing self after the stage of *ittihad* comes into non-being and nothingness and knows God; and the final stage of *wahdat al-wudjud*, the stage Sufis take as the ultimate end. Commenting on Wang, Jin Jiaotong wrote on his *Notes on Reading in Islam* (*Du Yisilian shuzhi* 讀伊斯蘭書志), “The general idea of the book advocates transcendence of self-concept and self-consciousness to know and merge with Allah.” Ma Fucheng, putting it differently, praised Wang for his “erudite scholarship covering an outstanding list of translations of Islamic texts that has made him a founder of cross-cultural scholarship of Central Asia and China (on the Epitaph of Wang Daiyu), and definitely a renowned Sufi preacher. Afterward, and at the request of Wang Daiyu, Wu Zunqi continued and was committed to *madrasah* education in Jiangsu, and translated *Mirsad al-‘ibad* with the Chinese title, *Guizhen yaodao* (歸真要道),¹⁷ which was later included in the list of advanced readings. Ma Minglong’s translation of *Mirsad* and She Qiling’s translation of *Mirsad al-‘ibad* deterred readers with “clumsy style and low readability,” so the texts were re-translated for “better clarity in communicative meanings.” Many metaphors were used, such as the spectrum of colors that illustrates different stages of *muraqada*, *dhikr* and ascetic practices that aim at ascending to Allah. Out of fear of misuse and libel by unscrupulous adherents and scholars, Wu Junsi prohibited the printed circulation of these sacred texts to those who were not wise enough to comprehend them. Thus these texts mostly appeared as handwritten copies.

Ma Zhu, a *Sayyid* by his rank and prestige, solicited the support of his ruler for “honoring the saints,” “preaching the religion” and “editing the best Islamic texts.” In more than a hundred thousand words, he edited the *Encyclopedia of Islam*. Being an Islamic traditionalist, though, Ma Zhu praised the tripartite practices of Sufism, and said, “knowing but not understanding the tripartite practices is a total waste; having learned from these practices, but not teaching them to others, is regarded as being wasted. Talking about *ittihad* (中道) and *wahdat al-wudjud* (至道) without *tawhid* (常道), is like a tree without roots; talking about *tawhid* without *wahdat al-wudjud* is like walking in the dark without a light; talking about *ittihad* without *wahdat al-wudjud* and *ittihad*, is like a vase of paper flowers (rather than real ones); practicing *tawhid* in order to seek the way of *wahdat al-wudjud* without *ittihad*, is like looking at a mirror

17 Leslie, 22–23.

without light. The trio, even one of which cannot be neglected or disregarded, is constitutive of the whole body like lives cannot be without hearts.” On the one hand, the volume Ma systematically wrote adapted the schools of thought in Sufism; on the other, he disputes, and even accused Sufis of preaching “heresies” in terms of deviating practices. Ma’s statement shows that, despite its wide circulation in China, Sufism was shackled by mainstream Chinese Muslims. Ma’s position, historically, was crystal clear: he, as a principal protector of traditional Islam, subdued the rampant Sufi preaching of dervishes, *ge lan de zhi shu* (革爛得之屬)¹⁸ in Yunnan. *Ge lan de* (革爛得) is an equivalent of *qalandar* in Xinjiang, meaning dervishes originating from Central Asia and influenced by Indian sects. Dervish is also an equivalent of Indian ‘*ashig*’ who were not regulated by any sect. These “heretical” dervishes entering into Yunnan, as Ma described, featured Shaktism and were identified as pseudo-Muslims, or fake *qalandar*—in other words, the heretic dervishes. This extreme sect from India was introduced to Yunnan via Shaanxi.

Liu Zhi (劉智) was a great translator of Islamic writings, “being a prolific writer of tens of volumes, which produce detailed descriptions and reasons in organized introductions and chapters, Liu Zhi shows the important ways that Man and the Heaven come in union.” The “ways,” here, are through Sufism. Liu called his *Metaphysics of Islam* “the book to the True Ways of Islam,” and said, “it was a collection of the general principles from different texts being put in the context allowing the reader to comprehend both, and that is what I called the general metaphysics of Islam that I have translated.” As Liu’s teacher, Yuan Yuqi, wrote in the Preface of *Metaphysics of Islam*, “The Islamic world has the saintly scholars, such as Jami and Abdullah ibn Umar (614–693 AD), who professed supreme knowledge and demonstrated their saintly quality. They wrote books and explained the essence and efficacy of creation in all creatures, that which humans understand through lifelong practices in certain ways of human ascendance, which are fully illustrated in Mirsad *al-‘ibad*, *Ashi‘at al-Lama‘at*, *Usul al-fiqh* and others texts. These texts are widely circulated both in Mecca and China, and in which our *ulama* are well-versed.”¹⁹ In the General Volume of *Metaphysics of Islam*, Liu Zhu writes, “this volume is a collection of other Islamic texts that have been compiled in the subsequent six volumes.”

18 Ma Zhu (馬注), “The Qalandars (*Zoudao tongxiao* 左道通曉),” roll 10 in *Comprehensive Records in Islam (Qingzhen dadian* 清真大典), ed. Zhongguo Zongjiao Lishi Wenxian Jicheng Bianzuan Weiyuanhui (Hefei: Huangshan shushe, 2005).

19 Yuan Ruqi (袁汝琦), preface to *Tianfang xingli* (天方性理), by Liu Zhi (劉智) in *Comprehensive Records in Islam (Qingzhen dadian* 清真大典), ed. Zhongguo Zongjiao Lishi Wenxian Jicheng Bianzuan Weiyuanhui (Hefei: Huangshan shushe, 2005).

The six volumes include *The Origins and Principles of Islamic Ways* (*Daoxin tuiyuanjing* 道行推原經) (Chinese translations of *Mirsad al-'ibad*), *Usul al-fiqh*, Jami's explications on *Maqamat al-Qulub*, *al-Maqsad*, Jami's *Lavaih*, *Mawqif*, and *Nur Ilahi* (*Journey towards the Light, the Light of Allah*). *Ashi'at al-Lama'at* was Jami's recreation from the Sufi *Munajjar* by al-Ghazali, or *Pray for Praise*, with annotated commentary of Ibn Arabi's *Fusus al-Hikam* (*Bezels of Wisdom*) that was an introductory text for the circulations of Sufism.²⁰ Liu Zhi's translation, titled "*Zhenjing zhaowei*" (真境昭微), from the *Mawqif* by an Iraqi Sufi, Muhammad ibn al-Hasan an-Niffari (d. 965 AD), describes certain forms of inertness of mind (*waqfa*) in a state of mystic communication with God.²¹ Concerning *Nur Ilahi*, it is still debated that whether the treatise of the light of Allah is connected with the Heaven-Man analogy in a Chinese Taoist cosmology. Writing in a poetic fashion in correspondence about *Nur Ilahi*, Liu Zhi, in *The Crescent at the Dawn* (*Wugeng yueji* 五更月偈) further observed the sequence of lunar changes from a new crescent to a full moon before the dawn and represented his understanding of oneness with Allah in terms of "knowing the true originator," "destined to know the Islamic ways," reaching to an ascending, successful stage of "the return to the fusion between the Heaven and Man," and "back to the origin in self-pleasures" that signifies different stages and psyches of his *muraqada*.

As a great and renowned translator of the *Han Kitab* Liu Zhi, praised by the Jahriyya *tariqah* and its descendants, contributed his scholarly works to the wide circulation of Sufism among northwest Muslims, who called Liu "Papa" or "the old master" that showed his popularity in every household. Ma Mingxin, the founder of the Jahriyya *tariqah* in the northwest, regarded Liu as "the gardener who has planted, and I reap the fruit." Alternatively, Ma Qixi openly declared that, "Liu planted and Ma (Mingxin) has flowered, and I reap the fruit." In other words, the *Han Kitab* was closely related with Sufism.

After Liu's death, the *Han Kitab* declined and yet the circulation of Sufism did not dwindle. In his book *Final Destiny of the Universe* (*Dahua zongui* 大化總歸), Ma Dexin, stressed that "Allah nurtures all creatures and being the Creator, all creatures are traced back to "the originator" and are "predestined to return to Allah, the originator," hence "the ultimate return of all creatures to the originator." Readers "in our age who have read *Dahua zhongguai* begin to know the links between the creator and the creatures created by the creator, knowing the creator is the only one that creates, thus

20 Schimmel, 91; Leslie, 35–36.

21 Schimmel, 80.

knowing the way that Men and the Heaven come from the same creator.”²² *Fusus* (*Fususi* 甫蘇思), the original of *Dahua zonggui* further suggests one, “to say the all mighty and omnipotence of God has been revealed from the secret that all creatures at all times have been put in prefect order and omnipresence. These ways (referring to Ibn Arabi’s *Fusus al-Hikam*) are not easily understood by junior scholars.” In his *Sidian yaohui* (四典要會), Ma Dexin stood in a traditionalist Sufi position, criticizing Sharif’s heretic words which meant a complete abandonment of traditionalists. Making the Hajj when Sufi sects were declining in the Islamic world in his times, and being influenced by traditional perspectives, Ma never consulted any of the ways promoted by Sharif, nor made any reference to *tawhid*, and *wahdat al-wujud*, except in his prolific writings.

At the same time, *The Right Learning of Islam* (*tianfang zheng xue* 天方正學) translated by Nanxu used mystical illustrations to explain the motion of *haqq* (*hange* 罕格, meaning truth, Allah, or God) and the creation of everything in the world; it also elucidated theories of life and “kitab”, the reading of Islamic Holy Scripts, concepts like *tariqah*, alphabets, *jingqi* (精氣), and ‘man and God.’ The content in these illustrations are translations from Sufi scriptures. Translated by Hua Zhanlu and commented on by Zhao Yuxuan, *A Short Introduction to the Enlightened Journey to Islam* (*tianfang dao cheng qijing qianshuo* 天方道程啟徑淺說) is about the rank and order of *sahat* in the practice that requires a practitioner to control his breath and comply with other prohibitions, whereas the enlightened journey is the silent *dhikr* of the Naqshbandiyya *taqiyyah* originating from the Sufi ways of practices to which the book refers.

Sufism as a branch of metaphysics was then spread with the help of numerous Chinese translations, ranging from works on dogma to biographies of Islamic saints, thus influencing the development of Islam throughout the country. In contrast, the mushrooming of Sufi sects with the support of mass populations resulted in a series of religious conflicts and social unrests.

3 The Ishan Sect in Xinjiang

From the 15th Century AD, the Naqshbandiyya expanded its power from its base in Central Asia to Xinjiang. In the 16th Century, two grandsons of Khwaja Ubayd Allah al- Ahrar (d. 1490 AD), Malmud Nura (d. 1536 AD) and Muhammad

22 Ma Fuchu (馬復初), “*Dahua zhongguai* (大化總歸),” in *Comprehensive Records in Islam* (*Qingzhen dadian* 清真大典), ed. Zhongguo Zongjiao Lishi Wenxian Jicheng Bianzuan Weiyuanhui (Hefei: Huangshan shushe, 2005).

Yusuf (d. 1530 AD) were sent to Turfan and Yarkant and were well received by the rulers of the two places, Mansur Khan and Sultan Sa'id Khan. In 1533, Abu Rashid Khan (ruling 1533–1566 AD) succeeded Sultan Sa'id Khan and preferred the family of Muhammad Parsa that became the most powerful in Yarkant. Meanwhile, Makhdum-i Azam (the Great Master), the fifth generation leader of the Naqshbandi *tariqa*, came to Kashgar from Samarkand and became a negotiator with Ubayd Allah Sultan who fought against Yarkant. After a ceasefire, he was subsequently granted a large quantity of possessions and married. Though at last he returned to Central Asia after the peaceful negotiation, his influence still remained significant in the two centuries that followed.

Ahmad Kasani (1461–1542 AD), also known as Makhdum-i Azam, (the Great Master), was born in Kasan in the Fergana valley, and became a student of Khwaja Arhar and a faithful deputy of Khwaja Muhammad Qazi (d. 1515 AD), later the leader of the Naqshbandiyya. Kasani opposed solitary practices in hostleries and ascetic penance, and believed that Sufis should live in *Khanagah* (Sufi lodges) and travel only for practicing *tariqah* and preaching. He opted for silent *dhikr*, but was open to accept *sama*, the vocal *dhikr* and dance. His stance on tradition, which still allowed tolerance of alternative practices, deserved reverence from the peoples in Central Asia. After Kasani's death, his descendants disputed the inheritance amongst his sons, leading to division within the Naqshbandiyya sect. According to the *Chronicles of Khwaja*, Makhdum-i Azam had promised the hereditary transference of the Khwaja title to all four of his sons, but assigned it instead to his second son, Khwaja Muhammad Ishaq Wali, who later became *khalifa* (the leader). However, *Da Huojia zhuan* in *A Biography of Afaq Khwaja*, one year after his death, recorded that Makhdum-i Azam passed his position to his elder son, Muhammad Amin, alias "Ishan-i-Kalan," with formal ceremonies. Later, three clans of the Kasani's descendants subsequently entered Xinjiang in the late 16th to the early 17th Century, and historians dub them the "Kashgari clans of Khwajas."

The first member of these clans to come to Xinjiang was Ishaq Wali (d. 1599 AD), the seventh son of Makhdum-i Azam and his wife in Kashgar. Ishaq Wali was not authorized by his father to preach. His cousin, however, granted him an *ijazah* (authorized document for preaching). The sect he founded, the Ishaqiyya (or the Black Mountain Khwajas), was condemned by Sheikh Hasmud of Samarkand as teaching "heresies" and was repelled by the Samarkand ruler, Abdullah Khan II. In 1580 AD, the Yarkant Khan, Abu Kuraysh, invited Ishaq Wali to come and preach, and he travelled around Kashgar, Yarkant, Aqsu, Khotan and other places for another period of twelve years. In 1592, it was alleged that Ishaq Wali revealed to the Kashgar Khan a plot by Abdullah Khan II to launch a surprise attack on Kashgar. In return, Ishaq

Wali was granted the privilege to preach in Kashgar and the power of assigning religious leaders in Yarkant, Khotan, and other areas. Furthermore, Ishaq Wali gave up silent *dhikr* advocated by the Naqshbandi order and preferred vocal *dhikr* and dancing in the Turkic tradition. Protesting against the sloth and secularism of other Khwajas, Ishaq Wali advocated purifying religious beliefs, and emphasized the importance of piousness and going into retreat, but opposed other dervish practices of begging and wandering, when he later founded his Ishaqiyya order. According to *The Biographies of Jamal al-Din and Tughlugh Timur Khan* (*Jialaliding keteke yu tuheilu tiemuerhan zhuan* 賈拉裡丁·克特柯與禿黑魯帖木兒汗傳), “Ishaq Wali came to Aksu and dreamed of the ancestor Sheikh Jamal al-Din (d. 1290 AD). Jamal al-Din said to Ishaq, ‘Oh, Khwaja Ishaq, I would confer on you the title of Khwaja of Aqsu, Kuqa, Cialis [Karashahr], and Turfan. My descendants have given up the Ishan life and hold officialdoms with secular powers. Let them be.’” Ishaq also paid visits to the Imam of Aqsu, Abu Emu, who later became a deputy of Ishaq Wali and advocated his followers to follow the Ishaqiyya teachings. He said, “We replace our secular honor and titles with our religious ones, as required by our great ancestor Jamal al-Din. Now our glory falls upon this graceful man (Ishaq Wali).”

The above quote indicates that Ishaq Wali didn’t merely gain support from the Yarkant Kingdom, but also from the Arshad family whose members were also in the upper echelon, together forming the religious pillars of the Yarkant-Turfan regions. At the turn of the 17th Century, his descendant, Khalifa Khwaja Shandi and his second son Khwaja Hadi, were appointed as *wazir* and owned their *waqf* (common properties) in Kashgar, Tulusbuy in Yarkant, Akkarsaray in Ktohan, and Ush Turfan in Aqsu. The Ishaqiyya was thought to be the wealthiest and the most powerful clan among the three largest Khwaja clans.

Muhammad Amin died in approximately 1570 AD. Later Amin’s four sons shared their religious influences. In a chronicle of *The Water Paths of the Western Borders* (*Xiyou shui dao ji* 西域水道記) by Xu Song (徐松), the text stated that Muhammad Amin, the 25th saintly descendant of Ali, named Amin, had four sons. The first was called Bukhari; the second called Musa, serving Uzbek; the third called Mumin settling in his birthplace in Samarkand; the fourth named Mahmud Yusuf living in Kashgar, the area influencing Moghulistan. Muhammad Yusuf went to Hami in 1617 and married Zuleiha Begum, the daughter of Emir Said Chilick, which gave birth to Hidayat Allah, (also known as Khwaja Afaq). In 1617 AD, Muhammad Yusuf sneaked into Kashgar, retreated and settled in the place his father-in-law had left for him. He attended Jum’ah prayers on Fridays. According to *Dahuojia zhuan* (大霍加傳), Muhammad Yusuf tried to seek alliance with several Khwajas and occupy Kashgar by brute force, but the ruler, Abd al-Latif Anak Khan (1605–1031 AD) vehemently

opposed Muhammad Yusuf's attempts and thereby dispelled him immediately. The Khan died in 1622 AD between Yarkant and Kashgar. According to *A Biography of Khwaja Afaq* (阿派克和卓傳), "at this time Said Afaq was eighteen years old," and he was in exile and shuttled around Hami, Turfan and far away to Lanzhou and the "Salar City" (*Sala cheng* 薩拉城). After having learned of the death of Abd al-Latif Anak Khan in 1638 AD, Afaq returned to Kashgar, and painstakingly founded his "Ishqiya" branch (*Yixikeye* 伊西克耶, or the White Mountain Khwajas) in south Xinjiang. Later he sought a successful alliance with Abdullah's son, Wolwas Khan (Akimud of Kashgar), and the battle between Ishqiya and Ishaqiyya turned from religious to political and territorial. In 1662, Khwaja Afaq began to oppose Yarkant's kowtowing to the Qing Imperial Court by disbanding tributary emissaries. In 1669 AD, Khwaja Afaq forced Abdullah Khan to make the Hajj, allowing Wolwas to usurp the Khanate and persecute the Ishaqiyya adherents. After Wolwas' death in 1670 AD, Wolwas' younger brother was enthroned to the khanate and the subdued Ishaqiyya adherents took revenge, persuading the new khan to expel Afaq. Forced from his areas of influence in Kashgar and Yarkant, Khwaja Afaq developed them in Central Asia and Kashmir, and turned eastward to the northern borders and the Hexi Corridor in order to seek political patronage from various kingdoms. Afaq stayed in Xining and Huangzhong in Qinghai, circa 1671–1673 AD. According to *A Biography of Khwaja Afaq*, "All inhabitants of the Salar City are Muslims." Afaq, spending another six months there, ordered adherents to build a hostelry for preaching and worship. All the city dwellers of Salar respected and adored him. After his six-month sojourn, Afaq appointed a person as his *khalifa* (successor) of Salar and his name was called Ahong Wafanib, alias "the Golden-headed Ahong."

The above stay was also mentioned in *Dahuojia zhuan* and other records held by different *menhuan*. Lastly, Afaq entered Tibet and was well received by the Fifth Dalai Lama (Ngawang Lobsang Gyatso 第巴桑吉嘉措), who helped realize Afaq's wish to restore the latter's religious influence in south Xinjiang with the military support of the Dzungars, and finally exterminated the Yarkant Kingdom in 1678 AD. Khwaja Afaq became a Dzungar agent who ruled over south Xinjiang and expanded his power to the north. At his death in 1659 AD, the influence of this *menhuan* was far-reaching.

The ebb and flow of Khwaja Afaq's influences incited upheaval from the Ishaqiyya believers as the mass. All Khwaja fractions together with local feudal lords seized power and opportunism from these upheavals to play their board games of territorial expansion as a result of the long-termed hostilities between Aq Taghliqs (White mountaineers) and Qara Taghliqs (Black mountaineers, 1696–1713 AD, see also Chapter 10 of this volume). The rift

of Khwajas and continuous tensions among them blocked the tributary tracks, therefore reducing the revenues of the Dzungar nobles. In 1713 AD, the Dzungar tribes invaded the south Xinjiang, and kept Burhan ad-Din, Yahya and Daniyal's eldest son Yaqub in hostage back to Ill. In South Xinjiang, Khwaja Yahya, so called "the Ush Turfan Khwaja," a descendant of Khwaja Ishaq Wali (a Qara Taghliq), in fact played as a political puppet under the supervision of the Dzungars. To recapitulate, Khwaja Ishaq Wali was initially the *de facto* caliph, but finally lost his succession due to his conflicts with his elder brother, Khwaja Muhammad Amin. Khwaja Ishaq Wali's descendants, in different clans, entered into Xinjiang at a later stage than the Makhdumzadas. In terms of religious practices, Khwaja Yahya insisted on asceticism and being solitary from the secular world and such methods known as Qadari practices. Owing to practical considerations of the Dzungars whose only concern was the national revenue from tributes and trade, Khwaja Yahya was forced to step down from his governance, which was succeeded by the Khwaja of the Ishaqi sect (Qara Taghliq) and was subject to the Dzungar's control for thirty-five years (1720–1755 AD). When the Qing Court finally secured the route of the south circuit of Tianshan in 1759 AD, the Ishqiya clans (Khwaja Buran-ud-din and Khwaja Khwaja-i Jahan) were massacred by Khan Sultan Shan from Badakhshan, and the survivors fled to Merv. Khwaja Yahya opposed the uprising, and was later killed by Khwaja-i Jahan. Later, after the defeat and death of the brothers, Buran-ud-din and Khwaja-i Jahan, the younger son of Burhan al-Din, Abu Hali, was captured and imprisoned in Peking, whereas Burhan al-Din's elder son, Khwaja Sa'adat Ali (commonly called Sarimsak), fled to Kokand. The descendants of Khwaja Afaq's younger brother, however, were treated with courtesy by the Qing Court after their surrender and allegiance to the regime. Khwaja Yhaya's grandson was saved from the rebels by the Qing army and sent to Beijing; he received a courteous reception from Qing Court, too.

The areas were restored to peace, and yet the struggles of Aq Taghliqs and Qara Taghliqs continued. Aq Taghliqs employed their religio-political means to spread their preaching by clinging to external regimes that were converted to their beliefs. Khwaja Sa'adat Ali converted Kokand; the Aq Taghliqs took revenge again on the Qing Court in the rebellion of Jahangir Khwaja (1820–1828 AD), several rebellions led by Khwaja Yusuf in (1830 AD), the Revolt of the Seven Khwajas (1847 AD), the short-lived separation and independence of Khwaja Wali Khan (May–September 1867 AD), and finally the short-lived occupation of Yaqub Beg who ruled over Kashgaria with the support of Busurg Khan—the only surviving son of Jahangir Khwaja (1865 AD). The series of wars led to a prolonged state of regional instability and continuous suffer-

ing, and yet the Qara Taghliqs and other tribes in south Xinjiang helped the Qing Court to restore peace, thereby inadvertently facilitating the task of national unity.

By the 16th Century, when Makhdum-i Azam came to Xinjiang, the Ishan sect dominated the area and circulated Sufism into China. The word "Ishan," in Persian, means "they" (third person plural), and is the term of address for a Sufi leader in Turkic tribes. The Naqshbandiyya sheikhs were then often called "Ishan" and they seized power and dominance in Central Asia beginning in the 15th Century AD. They further expanded their power and influence in south Xinjiang and other areas nearby, and Naqshbandiyya sheikhs coming to Xinjiang, following the convention, were also called "Ishan," which referred to the revered imams in the higher ranks. "Ishan" was not merely an exclusive address of these religious leaders of Aq Taghliqs and Qara Taghliqs, but extended to all leaders of Sufi sects as well. In 17th Century AD, Xinjiang Ishans were divided into four different *Sunnahs* (paths or journeys). *Sunnah* also implies the mystic ways of practicing Sufism. One practicing in this way should follow a Sufi master (*muleshid of murshid in Arabic*), the leader of a *Sunnah*, who guides one to succeeding stages or *maqamat* by which one comes to perfection and ascends to the higher ranks in the ultimate ends of union with Allah. In terms of principles and ways of practices, the four Xinjiang *Sunnahs* differed in their details, thus raising religious-political discord. Their features are listed, as follows:

Yiheiwani: the adherents, following the schedules of memorial days and other times, gather at the worship places (for instances, the houses of Sufi *khalifa*) and hum the words of praise, with doors shut, from night until dawn (known as the silent *dhikr*).

Ishaqiyya: Sufis and their adherents gather at daytime, forming a circle and uttering words of praise. Meanwhile they dance (*sama*, the dance of Ishan), crowding together and crying, then pray for their deceased saints.

Jahriyya: on every Jum'ah (Friday), adherents gather at night at the *mazar* (*Mazha* 麻扎, meaning tombs) of the deceased Sufi masters, worshipping and praying. They further practice *muraqada* (meditations) and cry till dawn.

Ishqiya: Adherents should first write their confessions, and being instructed that they unswervingly follow their Sufi master and have succeeded in union with Allah through endless meditation on deceased saints and masters. Those who perform their meditating practices (*muraqada*) will be anointed as *khalifa* and sent to other places for preaching.

These *sunnahs* were derived from the Naqshbandiyya order, not just in their basic principles, but also in the methods of practice. They each even shared and absorbed other ways of practices from other *sunnahs*, with their only major difference being in loud versus silent *dhikr*, Aq Taghliqs and Qara Taghliqs fought against each other in life and death for their territorial interests, resulting in wars and killings. As later Khwaja clans came off their historical stage, the very bearings of the differences between the sects lost its historical meanings. The rift between the Aq Taghliqs and Qara Taghliqs was replaced by one between Jahriyya, Khufiyya, Qadiriyya, and other Sufi sects that had different names for the same sets of practices. The Indian Naqshbandiyya, led by Sheikh Ahmad Sirhindi (1563–1624 AD), entered Xinjiang in the mid-18th Century AD, and built a lodge in Aksu. Later Sheikh Ullah of Badakhshan built his hostelry in Yarkant. One century later, descendants of Imam Rabbani (Ahmad Sirhindi) took an active role in preaching Ishan in Yecheng (Kargilik) and Yarkant. In terms of the religious character, Ahmad Sirhindi, presenting himself as a *mujadid* (a reformer), opposed the Mughal Emperor, Akbar (1542–1605 AD), who approached religion as a state of *sull-i kul* (total peace) in contrast to the frenetic attachment to God and ecstasies of Sufism proposed by al-Sirhindi, who insisted on the independent tradition of Sufism and the Naqshbandi order. Ahmad Sirhindi was praised as “the spiritual guide of Islam in the (Indian) sub-continent” and “the great restorer after the first millennium”; Chinese Muslims, alternatively, praised him as “the *ulama* [learned in Islam] with the heavenly ordination.” Ahmad Sirhindi’s revisionism of *tariqah* and his conformist stance on Sufism exerted considerable influence on Xinjiang Muslims.

“Xinjiang Ishan” is a general term for the labels of all Sufi sects from Central Asia. In present day Xinjiang Sufi sects, leaders are called *pir* (elder), but they are often called *Ishan* by outsiders. All Ishani *unnahs* are subcategories of the Naqshbandi order and are open to accept differences in terms of *tariqah* and ways of practicing as a result of their diversity and development and a reflection of how reformative or radical the Ishqiya was. On the flip side, the Khwajas, in their religio-political struggles, became more and more corrupt in their seizing of power and purging of their opponents in attempts to their expansion of religious influences. “The Kashgar Khwajas” were a historical clan that was deeply engaged in gaining control of *begs*, *hakims* and chieftains, overthrowing the Yarkant Khanate and sparing regions from the invasion of the Dzungars. The heyday of Ishan’s religio-political dominance in Central Asia and Xinjiang reflected how all the Sufi sects possessed their politico-economic forces that controlled and manipulated everyday life of Muslims; and yet, some sects, in their self-interests, acted against national unity, an act that would one day be rejected by their people.

The Xinjiang Ishan, having been introduced into China proper, finally laid the foundation of different *menhuan*, with three out of four of them inheriting the *tariqah* of the Ishan. The Mufti, Bijiacheng, and Xianmen *menhuan* had the lineage of the Khwaja Afaq of Aq Taghliqs, or White Mountain Khwajas. Ma Laichi of Huasi *menhuan* received the blessing of Khwaja Afaq, whom Ma Laichi called Tai Baba (太巴巴), or grandfather, and who taught Ma for a decade. As a brilliant student, Ma, at the age of eighteen, received a *barakah* (blessing conferred by God upon humankind) from Khwaja Afaq who proposed that Ma undertake the Hajj. Ma, no doubt, received the Khufiyya *tariqah*.

The later *menhuan*, namely Beizhuang, Dingmen, and Hungmen, belonged to the lineage of the Ishan from Imam Rabbani. Ma Mingxin preached “outside the gates of China”, and “founded a new religion” later called the Jahriyya *menhuan*. Ma followed the lineages, orders and practices of the Jahriyya, and stayed at Bukhara, Yarkant and Kashgar as he headed toward Mecca, eventually bound for further studies in Yemen. The *tariqah* Ma pursued during his quest for Islamic knowledge obviously originated from the Ishaqis, or the Qara Taghliqs (Black Mountain Khwajas). Xianghuantang *menhuan* of the Qadiriyya was founded by Haikuo (海闊), who received instruction in Lanzhou from the grandson of Khwaja Yahya, as the latter was the captive sent to Beijing by Qing guards. Lingmingtang received the Qadiriyya *tariqah* in Xinjiang. In terms of the lineages as described above, Qi Jingyi (祁靜一) and his teacher Khwaja Abd Alla belonged to this lineage of Jahriyya. Not only was the praying chorus particularly featured in Xinjiang *Ishan*, but also their organization and demi-god-like leadership, all of which formed a foundation of Chinese *menhuan*. Meanwhile, due to the particular social environment in Gansu, Ningxia and Qinghai, Ishans adopted some changes and thereby created a set of regional or local characteristics.

Some Thoughts on Sufi Groups in the Context of Islam in Northwest China

Yang Huaizhong

Abstract

The Sufi groups are the major Islamic groups in the Northwest China. They are categorized into four major groups, namely, Khufi, Jahri, Qadiri, and Kubrawi Sufi orders (or *menhuan* in Chinese), with subcategories under these four orders. In the last three centuries, these Sufi orders and their masters were closely connected with Hui communities that were influenced by them politically, economically, socially and historically. In this chapter, the author analyzes such influences from five different perspectives, namely, Sufism, Sufism in the Hexi Corridor, secularization of Sufism, Sufis' integral force in the Dungan Revolt (1862–1877 AD), and Sufi thought.

Keywords

Northwest China – Islam – Sufism

Hui, Dongshang, Salar, and Bonan Muslims followed the Qadim (or Gedimu) orders in their early days. However, due to the widespread dissemination of Sufism, or Islamic mysticism, in the Qing Dynasty, they were converted, thus developing four major Sufi schools from the Gedimu order, namely, Khufiyya, Jahriyya, Qadiriyya, and Kubrawiyya (the four major *menhuan* in China) and additional subcategories under these four orders. In the past three centuries, these Sufi orders and masters were closely connected with Hui and other ethnic communities, which were influenced by these orders politically, economically, socially and historically. In recent years, as Islamic Studies has developed

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in terms of continuing research and teaching, many scholars researching on and teaching in the field of Islamic studies apply Marxist approaches to their research on Chinese Islam. Their results offer analyses of Sufi schools and orders and raise some important and meaningful interpretations that shed light on Chinese Islam with new insights.

1 Sufism

Sufism first appeared in the 8th or 9th century AD, combining both mysticism in theory and ascetic practices. Sufism urges a total disengagement from secularism and hedonism; and in terms of religion, Sufism disparages ritualism but emphasizes attendents' faith and internal experiences. In the early days, Sufi masters were considered the wisest men. By the 12th Century, these masters were closely connected with the Arabic world, and their thoughts were widely accepted by the lower class in Arabic societies whose members thereafter organized various associations under the umbrella of Sufi mysticism. The widespread teaching of such mysticism is called "the way," or *dao* (道). The Chinese transliteration of the Arabic original of *dao* is "tuoliqeti," [*tariqa*] meaning the ways to purify one's heart and find union with Allah. Sufism looks down upon the ritualist practices of Islam but focuses upon personal practices of meditation and inner experience that make one's mind join Allah in a horizon of fusion. In other words, such meditation and inner knowing simplify many details of Islamic rituals practised by devotees of the Shia and Sunni sects. Several representative Chinese Sufi mottos say, "a brief moment of revelation through meditation is better than doing the tenets all one's life," "the only *masjid*¹ for you is in your heart," or "Embrace your *haqq*."² These sayings emphasize meditational doctrines and rituals.

According to the doctrines of Sufism, a devotee of Sufism must be admitted by a Sufi master who guides the devotee to *haqq*, the true way—to approach Allah and to save the devotee's soul. In so doing, a devotee, being admitted as a pupil, follows the Sufi master throughout his life, obeying what the Sufi master has required as a role model. Al-Ghazali (1058–1111 AD) once elaborated the importance of this lifelong pupilage, saying that:

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- 1 *Masjids* (*Maisizhi* 麥斯只): meaning mosque, often used for the mosques provided for large congregations.
 - 2 *Haqq* (*Hange* 罕格): another name of Allah, also referring to a person's faithfulness to religion.

A pupil must follow what his Sufi master had laid down correctly, because *haqq* is not obvious but rather inchoate. That is why a pupil with dubious faith, because of the inchoate and unclear nature of the guides to *haqq*, is vulnerable to the devilish attempts of blasphemy. A *haqq* guide must require a pupil to follow closely, like a blind person being guided, hand in hand, to the true way of God. Whatever happens, good or bad, having taken the oath of absolute obedience, the pupil never disobeys what his master has ordered. In case a Sufi master makes a mistake, the benefit derived from the mistake is considered the benefit of his pupil doing correctly from what has been mistaken by his master.

Based upon this lifelong mentoring, a Sufi master is called a *murshid*, (*muleshide* 穆勒什德), which means a guide or an advisor; a Sufi pupil is a *murid* (*mulede* 穆勒德), which originally means “water sucker” but metaphorically refers to a pupil “seeking advice” to the way of truth. The Sufi groups are organized by the fabric of these mentoring relations. When a Sufi master dies, a *qubba*, (*gongbei* 拱北, a mausoleum for a holy man) is customarily built next to the tomb so students may pay tribute, and the place where the master taught becomes a *daotang* (道堂 an instructional hall, where the religious leader held forth on life, law, and devotion) where his pupils and adherents come to worship and congregate. Such Sufi practices show that religious mentorship is preferred over the rituals emphasized by other Islamic sects.

Once a Sufi master dies, his mentorship is succeeded by his son or a selected disciple who leads the religious practices and preaches the theories and teachings of the sect. The successor takes possession of all of the belongings of the deceased master, including his robe (*kherqa*), hats, prayer rug (*sajjada*), walking stick and books.

When a disciple has qualified as a graduate by the leader of a Sufi order, he can travel to set up another *daotang* as a legitimate representative of the founder, becoming the master's successor (*khalifa*). This practice of preaching not only increases the population of Sufi practitioners over generations, it also increases the geographical coverage.

Followers of a Sufi order truly believe their master can perform miracles (*kalimaiti*) that generate faith in Allah through this supernatural force. These miracles are considered to be revelations from Allah. A Sufi master is capable of drawing on these direct experiences of the miraculous in a way that leads his followers in spiritual reflection.

In one sentence, Sufism is austere, or other-worldly: it demands that followers distance themselves from wealth and power, and encourages non-attachment to the secular world to approach Allah through purifying practices.

A master devotes his whole life to ascetic religious practices, nurtures his disciples and develops a congregation of believers so that, through generations, the sect, to a certain extent, transforms itself to fit in its secular environment. This is shown, historically, in some believers becoming feudal lords and officials of states, and this developmental path of Sufi orders is common in both China and the West.

Often called the four *menhuan* in Chinese, the four Sufi orders (Khufiyya, Jahriyya, Qadiriyya, and Kubrawiyya) originated from Arabic Muslims coming to China for trade or Chinese Muslims learning from Sufi masters in Arab regions, Persia, Central Eurasia, or Xinjiang. Other Sufi orders evolved from existing Sufi orders. Nonetheless, these Chinese Sufi orders are suffused with Arab mysticism, in terms of their philosophies, methods of *haqq*, reliance on spiritual masters, making pilgrimage to the tombs of saints, and having religious organizations. There is no doubt that Islam has differentiated into different sects in China in the way it has elsewhere. The sects differ, however, in their degrees of secularized practices in their respective societies. Qadiriyya is considered to be the least secularized sect as it assigns a bachelor to be the master, and teaches that the only way to “free oneself from worldly affairs is to preach the true ways of *dao*; worship the master and ancestors regularly and pursue such true ways through self-restraint and reflection (一清風雲月，道傳永世芳；敬誠先哲遠，克念悟真常).” A true disciple becomes a master who inherits his religious traditions by selecting wise and faithful successors. Other sects, namely Khufiyya, Jahriyya, and Kubrawiyya emphasize mystical practices, but never deny the traditional five tenets which are required by all sects in Islam. They advocate followers to “purify your heart from the impurity of the body; find yourself in tranquility from the noise.” These *menhuan*, by and large, carried out hereditary religious practices through mentorship over generations.

2 Sufism in the Hexi Corridor

The first Sufi masters appeared in various places in China during the Yuan Dynasty. By the Ming Dynasty, Sufi orders had become a subject of study in Chinese Islamic scholarship. Appearing as a set of personal beliefs, Sufism did not permeate into Hui communities that had a majority of peasants and into the Hui feudal economy. Sufism became popular as a leading Islamic sect as more and more Hui inhabitants were converted in the Qing Dynasty. Such changes altered the economic and socio-political habits of the Hui and challenged the Qadim sect which had dominated Chinese Islam for more than eight centuries since the Tang Dynasty.

The acceptance of a new religion, or a new culture, by a mass of believers is attributed to several key internal factors that work together in a particular historical context.

In general, Islamic doctrines require a Muslim to practice the five pillars (*Shahadah*, *Salat*, *Zakat*, *Saum* and *Hajj*) so that Muslims experience the awe of and show reverence to Allah, thus setting themselves free from the sins of the secular world; Sufism, alternatively, affirms Allah as the originator of all things in the world, and suggests that Allah is found within all these things. His characteristics are learned through a Sufi believer's mindfulness. As a Sufi believer one strengthens one's faith and practises by austere life habits, praising and approaching God. By imitating Allah's true character, a believer, through his or her religious habits, can engage in a dialogue with Allah. This communication is a way to save one's soul, rather than the means of practising tedious rituals, as it expresses a religious equality amongst Sufi believers. Because of the equality of Sufi believers in communicating with God, Sufism is widely accepted by sultans and serfs, albeit with their social differences. In comparison, the idea of the "Eternal Venerable Mother (*wu sheng lao mu* 無生老母)" advocated by the White Lotus Buddhist sect in the Qing Dynasty, whose followers believed all humankind are borne in the womb of the Eternal Venerable Mother, thus emphasizes the equality among all humankind. Such advocates of religious equality, albeit in a hierarchical and patriarchal ancient China, were widespread in Qing civic society. Similarly, Zen Buddhism shuns scriptural learning and pedagogy and prefers internal communication with Buddha through one's heart. Not looking to a Buddha in the East or the West, or in a figure of a wooden or ceramic statue, everyone has the potential to be a Buddha, because one can live the life of a Buddha. Such a concept of equality originating from religions has been taken up by the Chinese literati, thereby objectively advocating as such to a certain extent; the differences between Sufism and Zen Buddhism is that Sufism became popular among the lower strata; whereas Zen Buddhism only exerted its influence on the upper stratum of Chinese literati.

Sufi teachings suggest that all things in the objective world are an ontological reflection of Allah, a world that is illusory, contingent and mortal. The decay and mortality of all things returns them to the origin, to Allah, in which time-unbound immortality and temporality are both sides of the same coin. Humans, in the core thoughts of Sufism, must set themselves free from objective illusions to understand and approach Allah in a way that fuses humans and God. Therefore, one must transcend the secular by (a) purifying one's heart; (b) refraining from seeking pleasure, honor, gossip and seduction; and (c) meditating in spite of despair, indignity and destitution. The Chinese Sufi

orders say, “a sparrow lands at the side of a basin filled with paste; it spills paste on you and blinds your eyes.” This analogy illustrates the objective illusions that obstruct the *haqq* to Allah. Sufism, therefore, could be considered to serve as a calming influence for those Sufi Hui in the Qing dynasty who had repeatedly attempted to revolt against the Qing Imperial Court but were subsequently defeated, and who lived in terror and poverty.

Meanwhile, Sufism advocates its devotees saving themselves by praising and finding unity with Allah’s grace of admitting them to Heaven. Such admittance requires the lifelong guidance of the Sufi master or murshid (*muleshide*). A Sufi dervish entering a village would call upon one or several Muslims and hold one or more *tawba* (*taobai* 討白, repentance for a sin, turning from sin to God) and become a legitimate *muleshide*. The ritual of *hutubal* [Arabic *khutba*], as practiced in the Qing, was simple: all the attendents and the dervish knelt on the same prayer rug, and the recognized *muleshide* unwrapped his scarf and put it on the shoulders of the attending believers with the other end held in the dervish’s hand. Finishing the *hutubai*, the believers returned to their respective daily duties such as farming, shepherding, trading and raft steering. They left their other-worldly affairs—their qualification for their admittance to Heaven—to their *muleshide* who made arrangements for their afterlife. This simple doctrine and rite, no doubt, became widely accepted in Hui communities which had experienced backwardness, destitution, and oppression, and that is why Qing officials described Sufism as “an ecstatic religion.”

Furthermore, Sufism emphasizes self-actualization and self-development. A *muleshide* accepting a believer after reciting *hutubai* must state commandments that a believer must follow. A Sufi order in Lingxia, for instance, makes ten commandments: no smoking or alcohol, no loan sharks, no bartering of widows, no disobedience to parents, no addiction to sex, no gambling, no slander, no sales of drugs, and no abandonment of orphans. The large *gongbei* in Lingxia, Gansu, shows fifteen commandments that are more or less the same. The principles of doing good in Sufism are specified in commandments for these Sufi believers who follow ethical practices in their secular lives and in their path to unity with God.

In the early Qing Dynasty, the founders of Chinese Sufism, such as Qi Qingyi and Ma Mingxin, devoted their lives to Sufi teachings, and not for wealth and political patronage. These founders, more importantly, distanced themselves from the secular possession of power, prestige and wealth and kept their austere and humble lives. To use words found in writings of ‘scripture hall education’ (*jingtang jiaoyu* 經堂教育), they are described as “persons who do not cherish their secular lives.” They habitually lived on the outskirts of cities or towns,

practicing meditation and selecting their pupils. For instance, Ma Mingxin settled in the cliff caves of Majiabao, Dingxiguanchuan, the central part of Gansu. A Sufi master, Liangzhouchuang (his name is related to his birthplace) related to the Khufiyya sect in the late Qing Dynasty, accepted invitations of Muslims from Haiyuan and Guyuan in Lingxia. First, he packed his satchel and a walking stick and shuttled around Muslim communities to preach. The master then returned back to Qinghai, but the converted Muslims in Haiyuan and Guyuan called him back for more preaching. The master accepted their invitation again, but he refused to ride on a mule provided by the messenger from Haiyuan and Guyuan and walked with his satchel and staff. His ascetic practice won the hearts of his followers and the Khufiyya sect in Haiyuan and Guyuan relates to the ascetic practices of this Sufi *muleshide*. According to the old saying from northwest Muslims, Chinese Islam was founded by 48 preachers (or 40 in another version) who had brought Islam through a thorny path to the land of the Middle Kingdom. Despite these old sayings that lack detailed validation from any historical source, these Sufi dervishes, who were praiseworthy in their persistent ascetic practices, became influential to Chinese Muslims.

The northwest regions in Qing Dynasty China, provided fertile ground for Hui communities in their political, economic and religious development that fostered the dissemination and organization of Sufi orders.

Politically, Hui communities were under surveillance and were oppressed by the Qing Imperial Court. After the defeat of several Muslim revolts in 1781 and 1784 AD, the Court ordered and compelled the *ahongs* to abide by "village covenants" that assisted the Qing officials, at both prefecture and county levels, to dismantle the organized forces of Hui uprisings. Being in a Catch-22 situation, these *ahongs* were offered power and prestige, but such arrangements with the Imperial Court carried the risk of undermining their legitimacy as Islamic religious leaders. Even so, some *ahongs* became morally depraved by such arrangements, accepting bribes and embezzling state reserves. In this regard, due to the prevalence of corrupt *ahongs*, Muslims sought other saintly orders to correct the declining moral standards of these "state agents." In the aftermath of the defeat of these revolts that had been mobilized by Muslim peasants, the Court issued decrees that compelled *ahongs* to openly insult Islam. Islam focuses on Allah, who has no limbs, no figure and no form, and as Du Huan described in his book *Travelogues* (*Jingxing ji* 經行記), requires there be "no worship of earthly kings and patriarchs." The Court deliberated on defying Islam by hanging imperial plaques with statements such as "Long Live the Emperor, for Thousands and Thousands Years!,"

which were accompanied, in some places, by lit candles that were suggestive of idol worship that Islam considers as being sacrilegious. The Qing oppression in the aftermath of the revolts, humiliated Muslims by forcing them to kowtow, and all mosques and Muslim beliefs became profaned. The northwest Muslims, before liberation in 1949, said, "we (Muslims) finally kowtowed after The Forty-sixth and Forty-ninth years of Qianlong (1781 and 1784 AD)." Due to the corruption of *ahongs* at the time, Muslims in the late Qing began to visit *qubba* (mausoleum for a holy man) and *daotang* (an instructional hall, where the religious leader held forth on life, law, and devotion) of the Sufi orders as a means to voice distress and protest against the Qing treatment.

Economically, development revived in the early Qing Dynasty, but Muslims in northwest China remained destitute and exploited by the land-owning and bureaucratic classes in the areas at the banks of the Daxia, Shao and Yellow Rivers. In addition, Muslim inhabitants in Central Gansu and the Liupan Mountains suffered from the effects of natural disasters. After being oppressed by the Qing Army, the survivors, having had their houses and land confiscated, wandered around purposelessly and hopelessly, living in deprivation. Their severe economic loss through wars and as a result of poverty were compensated for by spiritual convalescence.

Religiously, the leadership of *ahongs* in the Northwest mosques succeeded by hereditary appointment or selection. Hereditary appointment, which is determined by blood ties or close kinship, disregards a successor's actual capabilities of administering daily affairs; the selected *ahong*, no matter how wealthy or poor he had been, hitherto changes the rest of his life and economic status once he assumes the position of *ahong*. Moreover, most of the *ahongs* came from a social background of village elders, scholars and the affluent. The succession of *ahongs*, however sacred it might be, therefore created an illusion that the position was only for those with prestige and wealth.

Given the historical circumstances outlined above, a Sufi master depicted as God's messenger, with only a satchel and a walking staff, who leads the believers from their anguish to Heaven, attracted many Muslims in the northwest. Also attractive was the teaching of direct appeal to Allah, a new doctrine compared to that of the Qadim which stressed ritualism.

Based upon this major difference between Qadim Islam and Sufism, more Muslim peasants in the Northwest were converted to Sufism for their desire of equality in the face of the feudal oppression of the Qing state. In a nutshell, Muslims converted to Sufism in groups in what appeared to be waves of religious movements of the Muslim peasants with a trajectory of historical dialectics.

3 Sufism Transformed into Secularism

With audacity and pure faith, Sufi Muslims positively followed their *muleshide* in their ways of *haqq*, but the historical development did not necessarily help them get what they anticipated.

Most religions have evolved. The Quanzhen Taoist sect (全真道), founded by Master Wang Zhongyang, was once popular in both the Jin and Yuan Dynasties. Wang came from a very humble background living on a basic sustenance, and that was why he could directly appeal to the general population. Later on, as a political expedient, Genghis Khan enticed a disciple of Master Wang, Taoist Master Qiu Chuji, to join the Yuan government. Then Qiu made himself prestigious and was distanced from the common people. Historian Chen Yuan recorded that the Quanzhen Taoists who accepted patronage from the Mongols became an instrument of civic control.

Likewise, Sufis conceive that *muleshide* are much closer to Allah than average Sufi believers, thereby they commemorate and worship *muleshide* for Allah's blessings. Rituals commemorating the birth and death dates of a *muleshide* then become a lucrative business for his successors and offspring. According to Islam, a Muslims should make donations to the uprooted, the scholars and the poor, including any *muleshide* who maintain barest sustenance with Muslim donations. After a *muleshide's* death, his tomb, or *gongbei*, is managed by his sons or grandsons and creates revenue. The accumulation of wealth from *gongbei* management, however, induced these sons or grandson as the owners of the *qubba* to do whatever they wished or desired. Those *qubba* owners, with their accumulated wealth and their mass believers, started to seek political power. Definitely, many Sufi groups transformed from being focused on an other-worldly religion to secularization of religious hegemony as their original image as civic religion faded away. Teachers who were once ascetic and penniless became landed gentry; those who were once solitary, accumulated wealth that allowed their sons and offspring to become hereditary gentry. Similarly, those distanced from power games became patrons of the game and those imams who were role models ended up with few disciples. Throughout this secularization process, the relatives and descendants of some Sufi masters have become like idols or even demigods worshipped by Muslims, and their dates of births and deaths are commemorated. Their deeds contradict what Islam has taught them: Muslims are the servants of Allah, not the descendants of a Sufi master. At this later stage of secularization, some dishonest descendants do not engage in Sufi ascetic practices and the five tenets but still entice masses of followers. Neither are they trustworthy, nor do they acquire reasonable amounts of religious knowledge for preaching and other religious

duties. The negative consequences of their misdeeds, therefore, include siblings rivalry, and in order to compete for the masses, they made themselves into demigods for their idolatrous followers, thus causing widespread, damaging, quarrels within Sufi groups and tensions between differing groups. Quite unexpectedly, the thirst for power and for fulfilling the self-interests of Sufi *khalifa* affects the internal solidarity amongst the Muslim sects, thereby bringing up a new class of religious gentry who are both the top leaders of religious sects and agents of secular power, thus arriving at a stage of Sufism imbued with feudalism as a secular religion. In the official records of the Qing Imperial Court, all the Sufi orders or sects were described as *menhuan*, placing Sufism, originating from Arabia, into a straight-jacket of Chinese officialdom which signified an ascribed identity of power, status and prestige, and hereditary lineage. This Chinese translation by Qing officials was probably a misrecognition of the original Arabic meanings. In Arabic, a Sufi school is called *tariqah*, (*tuolegeti* 托勒格提, meaning the correct ways of ascetic practices), and it is a different term from that of *menhuan* (門宦 meaning the officialdom based on powerful and influential families). Etymologically, it is impossible for Arabs to adopt a Chinese term to name their Sufi groups; instead, Chinese Muslims had adopt Arabic terms, such as *muleshide*, *mulide*, *yeyishi*, *gongbei*, *amal*, *zakat*, etc. Furthermore, It would be contradictory and ironic for the ascetic Sufis, who advocated purification of faith and soul and kept away from power and wealth, to name themselves as “*menhuan*,” which is suggestive to a person’s possession of secular wealth and power.

4 Sufism as an Integrating Force against the Qing Imperial Court

It is required by Sufi doctrine that a pupil or a disciple should have absolute obedience to his Sufi master. The disciples of the same Sufi group are brothers (*yasawi*) on the same prayer rug (*sajjada*) with a bond maintained by love and mutual support. In other words, a Sufi master has final authority in the group to integrate non-members into the a whole group with the same core beliefs, teachings, and group identity. In addition, Sufi groups operate by the *khalifa* selection system, in which Sufi masters send their disciples far away to preach and convert followers and believers. In the views of Han Chinese literati, “Gansu Sufi groups are seen as... members complying with the Sufi masters’ orders, and would not object to an order to die,” and “the master’s orders are golden rules that a disciple never questions.” In facing oppression by the Qing Imperial Court, Sufi groups throughout the northwest joined and embarked on anti-Qing rebellions. In this particular historical context, Sufism

played an important role in integrating all Sufi groups against the Qing government in the following three ways.

First, Sufi *menhuan* supplied legitimate military leaders for the rebellions, and *muleshide* became leaders as such for commanding armies and plotting military strategies. In the Dungan Revolt (1862–1874 AD), all the *muleshide* became the spiritual and military leaders, such as Ma Wuzhen of Beizhang *menhuan*, Ma Jianau and Ma Yongrui of Huasi *menhuan*, Ma Yun of Mufti *menhuan*, Ma Wanyou of Wumen *menhuan*, and Ma Hualong of Jahriyya *menhuan*. They were the key persons who organized and led rebellions.

Second, a military organization was formed in a hierarchial structure that mobilized the Muslims. Each *muleshide* of a Sufi group led several *khalifas* (哈里發, deputy, successor, student), who were in charge of several regions at which several mosques were located. The *ahongs* stationed in these mosques, upon receiving *khalifa's* orders, mobilized men from dozens of Muslims households.

Third, Sufi groups provided mobilizing slogans and theoretical preparation for the rebellions. Slogans such as “Fight on behalf of Allah’s ways,” “Defend Islamic schools,” “Muslims hold tight to the rope from Allah, till death do we part,” “Follow what the sheikh has led us to,” “The door of the Heaven has opened to us whom the saints are prepared to receive.” Slogans like these were created in all the Sufi groups against the Qing rule. These slogans look like calls for a jihad similar to those raised in older times, but actually have their specific contextual meaning in Qing dynasty: to encourage Muslims to fight against the Qing for their religious autonomy and self-defence.

In the aftermath of their defeat, the remaining Sufi groups were responsible for cleaning up the ruins and rebuilding households. After the defeat in Jinjibao (金積堡), the defeated and surviving Muslims were evacuated elsewhere, leaving a vacuum of land in the Hexi Corridor to be occupied by General Dong Fuxiang (董福祥) and his followers. Later, Hui people returned and reclaimed land from the land-owners among the Dong camp, but they were not allowed to build houses on the land. Coincidentally, Ma Jinxi, finishing his exile from war, began to settle in this place, and General Dong, who was relaxing under a tree, spotted Ma riding a past Dong’s house. Ma asked his servant who was that on the mule. The reply was, “the grandson of Ma Hualong (who defended Jinjibao against the Qing forces under the direction of General Zuo Zongtang (左宗棠), but was finally defeated and executed by slicing his body).” Dong was dismayed by the reply and murmured, “disgraceful beans begin to sprout.” Dong’s servant, named Ding, surreptitiously contacted Ma Jinxi and informed him that Dong might send somebody to kill him; Ma, however, dismissed

the warning with laughter. Afterward, Ma requested that returning Muslims notify him before starting to rebuild their houses, and Ma would pay a house-warming visit upon completion. In fact, Ma's paying a visit to new houses was an attempt to protest against trespassing by the Dong camp, and celebrating the returning Hui peoples' defiance of the orders issued by the Dong camp. After the Panthay Rebellion (1856–1873 AD), Ma Yuanzhang (who belonged to older generation of the same lineage with Ma Jinxi) came to the northwest and traveled around the ridges of Liupanshan by riding his mule in an attempt to organise the Muslims living in enclaves.

In pacifying the Hui people in the Northwest, the Qing Imperial court curbed the Hui uprising by implementing policies of reconnaissance, restrictions and purges. Ethnic cleanizing was often employed in times of these Muslim uprising, especially mass killings of muleshide and his relatives, placing Sufi groups in deplorable situations. A wiser strategy, so called *divide et impera*, was employed by the Qing court by means of bribery and claiming alligance with the Khufiyya sects against the Jahriyya sects. For instance, the court bribed Ma Anliang and others to act as Qing mercenaries to oppress the Muslims, not merely killing the Muslims of the Xi dao tang (西道堂) and Mufuti Muslims, but also their brothers of the same (Huasi) *menhuan* as a result of its decline.

The historical facts above indicate that Sufi groups are Janus-faced: they developed with the adoption of a feudal system, and yet when being oppressed they bonded together as Muslims.

5 In Search of Sufi Thoughts

The heart of Sufi thought lies in Allah, amongst all things in the world, bringing the eternal world of the other-world to this natural world. The Human-God fusion advocated by Sufism centers on the human in its thoughts, and is a progression of the notion of humanness as considered in medieval times. The Sufi schools and advocates were then canonized in Islamic core beliefs, thereby enriching the substance of Islamic thought. Sufism advocates internal experience and looks down on reliance on only rationality, leading to the end of rational schools of Islamic thoughts in its heyday. Later on, Sufism was used by the ruling class as a political weapon to “anesthetize” the people. Karl Marx once wrote on the Lutheran reform of the Church: “Luther, we grant, overcame the bondage of piety by replacing it by the bondage of conviction. He shattered faith in authority because he restored the authority of faith. He turned priests into laymen because he turned laymen into priests. He freed man from outer

religiosity because he made religiosity the inner man. He freed the body from chains because he enchained the heart.³"

The emergence of Sufism was connected to, and influenced, oriental histories, and so Sufism was a subject of Oriental Studies. Now the Sufi sheikhs have lost the halos upon their heads, and yet it cannot be denied that Sufi philosophy has had a continual influence on Arabic intellectuals. In recent years, two books written in Chinese, namely Mian Weilin's *A Survey of the Islamic Sects in Lingxia* (*Ningxia yisilan jiaopai gaiyao* 寧夏伊斯蘭教派概要) and Ma Tong's *A Historical Outline of Sainly Descent Groups' Institutions in Chinese Islam* (*Zhongguo yisilan jiaopai yu menhuan zhidu shilue* 中國伊斯蘭教派及閤宦制度史略) fill the gap on Sufism research in China. Prior attention has been given to different Sufi orders, such as in *A History of Thought in the Jahriyya* (*Zheherenye daotong shi* 哲赫忍耶道統史) in which a comprehensive list of various sources of Sufi philosophies and theories were compiled, and historical research on different Sufi traditions and how they have different interpretations of Allah has been completed. Furthermore, non-Chinese collections about Sufism are also found in *Revival of Religious Sciences, or Ihyaul ulum al-din* (*zongjiao xueshu de fuxing* 宗教學術的復興) by Al-Ghazali, *The Sufi Letters, the Sufi Theories*, and *Summaries of Religious Principles in Sufism*, all of which were written in Arabic and have yet to be translated into Chinese to be made available for further research. Alternatively, equal attention has to be paid to particular Sufi schools, for instance, the epitaph of Qi Qingyi states, "The tailor bird nests deep in the forest and uses only one branch, and the tapir, when drinking of the river, takes only a bellyful." This quote is a narrative and comment on Zhuangzi's argument in his essay titled *Xiaoyao You* (逍遙遊), which says "The life in us is limited, but knowledge is unlimited. It is dangerous to pursue the unlimited with the limited." Notwithstanding our limited lives used to pursue unlimited knowledge, knowledge is relative or even unknown, then each of us, based upon our limited life, anticipates what we experience and accepts our fate, achieving a mindfulness of perfect happiness. On the other hand, Al-Ghazali argues that human cognition and knowledge are relatively limited; knowing the world, however, is by means of internal understanding, which become direct experience of the revelation of God. Qi Qingyi, in his life, was well-versed in Sufi philosophies, and his epitaph bridged Sufism and Zhuangzi.

Not only has the philosophy of Zhuangzi, but so too has that of neo-Confucianism been assimilated into Sufism. As found in a certain mosque in

3 Karl Marx, "Contribution to the Critique of Hegel's Philosophy of Law: Introduction," in *Marx and Engels Collected Works* (Moscow: Progress Publishers, 1975), 182.

Linxia, Gansu, a pair of stone-carved couplets reads, "Flowing water from a thousand rivers reflects a thousand moons; flowing water from a thousand sources pooled in a lake reflects only one moon." It means that Allah is the only truth, like the moon in the sky; everything in this world is the reflection of Allah's spirit, which is not real, like the moons on thousands of rivers, that finally will return to Allah. At this stage, neo-Confucianism and Sufism are syncretized altogether as a whole, seamlessly and perfectly, as Hui communities studied both Han Chinese culture and Sufism in their century-long attempt to promote cultural exchanges, and, of course, providing a characteristic of and a focus for researching Chinese Islam.

A Brief Analysis of the Formation and the Characteristics of the Ishan Sufi Group

Wang Huaide

Abstract

The Ishan sect is one of the major Sufi groups in Xinjiang, Ningxia and Gansu, China. The development of Chinese Sufi groups is divided into three stages, namely in sequence, *khanagah* (*Hanaka* 哈納卡, Sufi lodges), *tariqah* (*Talika* 塔里卡, Sufi order or pathway) and *taif* (*Tayifu* 塔伊夫, a most developed form of Sufi order). The Ishan sect was derived from the last stage of *Taif* in which individual believers were subsumed to the will of a sheikh. In Persia, Ishan means “they” or “themselves.” At the beginning, Ishan believers were forbidden, out of respect, to directly use the name of their sheikh. Ishan later became part of the religious vocabulary and Ishan sects in different parts of Xinjiang share their commonality.

Keywords

Ishan – Sufism – Islam – Menhuan

Ishan is one of the most popular Islamic sects in Central Asia and Xinjiang Province, China, and has influenced quite a large number of believers. According to historical documents, some scholars claim that Ishan was closely connected to the local *menhuan* (門宦, officialdom based on powerful and influential families) in Gansu and Ningxia, however, the Ishan tradition's reach covered a larger area than other *menhuan*, linking adherents in different areas through effective bonding in customary practices and ideologies. Many details

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about Ishan remain to be clarified in term of history and related epistemological issues. Only recently have some scholars begun to publish research articles on Ishan.¹ This chapter is a preliminary investigation into the characteristics of the Ishan sect in Xinjiang.

1

Ishan is a subcategory of Sufism, or more precisely, a subcategory derived from a developmental stage of Sufism. Many believe that Ishan was equivalent to Sufism and mysticism, but these are misconceptions.

Sufism is a sect of Islamic mysticism. Being similar to other sects in Islam, Sufism has its own developmental path and stages in history and was influenced by Orthodox Christianity, Zoroastrianism and Buddhism.

The advocates of Islamic mysticism engage in ascetic practices. In the Quran 8:67, it states: "Whoever desires the life of this world and its adornments; we fully repay them for their deeds therein, and they therein will not be deprived." Ascetic practices in Sufism, like other religions, emphasize a simple life, thrift, not fearing suffering and opposing hedonism. In other words, possessing wealth, is not only of little significance, but is the sin of all sins. The happiness of the other world, however, can be attained, paradoxically, only by ascetic practices, as were promoted by Islam in the 7th and 8th Centuries AD.

After the death of Muhammad, the Caliphates led the Arabs to make drastic changes, socially, economically and politically, in relation to acquiring borderlands, waging destructive internal wars, cold-blooded militaristic domination, the profligate activities of the privileged, widespread liberality and racism, all of which directed the people from worldly affairs and instead, turned their devotion to Allah where their salvation would be obtained through ascetic practices. As a nihilistic response to vanity, somebody began to advocate self-destitution and asceticism.²

Later, these advocates began to wear wool clothing (*tasawwuf*) in order to show their ascetic practices, and the name Sufism in Arabic derives from the word for wool "suf," a metonym for these preachers and their thought. It is said that the term was first used by an Arab from Kufa, Iraq, Abu Ali al-Rudhabari (d. 322 AD). However, according to the Russian scholar Krymskiy, wearing

1 S.M. Demidov, *Sufizm v Turkmenistane* (Sufism in Turkmenistan) (Ashgabat: Ilym, 1978), 10.

2 Henri Masse, *Brief History of Islam* (*Yisilan jiao jian shi* 伊斯蘭教簡史), trans. Wang Huaide & Zhou Zhenxiang (周禎祥) (Beijing: Shangwu Yinshuguan, 1978), 159.

cloaks and overcoats was a common religious practice of ancient Jews and Christians in Syria.

The Abbasids, after overthrowing the Umayyads, continued their cruel oppression of mass campaigns and other religious movements. Under such oppression, many, filled with nihilism, became hermits in their mosques, and later became Sufi masters. These mosques were found wherever Muslims settled. In Iran and Central Asia, they were called *halaqat*; in North Africa, *zawiyah*. They were originally built for shelter and later became sacred teaching places, where the adherents followed their master (*murshid*) and could become a teacher with authorization of the master (*ijazah*). At this stage, mysticism was a feature of Sufism, which preached mystical love, polytheism, and the true ways of asceticism to understand the divine unity of God as an ultimate fusion of God and Man (*al-Faqir ila l-Lah*, the need to God's knowledge). What Sufism preached, as described above, was the commonality in Sufi orders, albeit with their minute differences in detail. Neoplatonism, at that time, provided a theological basis for such mysticism. By the 11th century AD, al-Ghazali combined these elements of mysticism in his major doctrinal writings on Islam. By integrating the different perspectives, from traditions of rationalism and Gnosticism in Islamic thought, Al-Ghazali created a defining moment in Sufi history, as well as in Islamic history and philosophy.³

Time passed and Sufism changed with more and more adherents joining. By the 12th century AD, Sufi groups, both large and small, mushroomed and withered in subsequent seasons. Considered in the context of Islamic history, they differed and some were divided further. Scholars have identified no fewer than 175 Sufi groups.⁴ However, dozens of these groups were classified as being significant in Islamic history, and only more than ten have been rigorously studied. In medieval times three major Sufi orders exerted their influence on Central Eurasia: the Kubrawiya Sufi order in Chorasmia, the Naqshbandiyya order in Bukhara, and the Yasawi order in Turkestan.

The leaders of all Sufi orders were called *muleshide* (*murshid*).⁵ In general, each Sufi order includes a leader and his pupils (*muridin*) and adherents.

3 Philip Khuri Hitti, *History of the Arabs (Alabo tong shi 阿拉伯通史)*, trans. Ma Jian (馬堅) (Beijing: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1979), 513–514; Masse, 175–177.

4 P.M. Holt, Ann K.S. Lambton and Bernard Lewis, ed., *The Cambridge History of Islam*, vol. 2 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1970), 622.

5 In Arabic, they are called sheikh; in Persian, pir or sheikh; in Turkic, shaihs, murshids, piirs, eshons, hojas, mavlons, and makhmuds are used.

As one group of a Sufi order became fully-fledged, it connected with the government, which in turn made the affiliated group an ally and gave it a source of legitimacy. The urbanites, especially craftsmen and merchants, under such governance, took refuge in Sufi groups as they provided protection. Once this political patronage had established a religio-political alliance with a selection of Sufi groups, these groups, with their different religious and political stances, orbited around the political struggles that cast out the democratic organizations formed in their earlier stages of development. In other words, a leader of a Sufi group was paramount to control their pupils and adherents.

The 15th century, AD, was another turning point for Sufism.⁶ By that time, myths and narratives replaced philosophical ideas and debates. In the past, Sufi teachers were seen as saints whose tombs were worshipped by adherents, a pre-Islamic practice in which superstition overrode Islamic doctrines. All the Sufi traditions, in order to protect the dominant feudal class, supported the vested interests of this class, as exemplified by the Naqshbandiyya order. The founder of this order, Baha al-Din Naqshband (d. 791 AD), advocated gentleness and modesty, considered greed as unrighteous, and seriously reprimanded officials for abuse of power; he thereby quickly established his influence among the masses. However, his successors became very rich and unfortunately turned bribery into a common practice. The greediest of these corrupt leaders was the Sufi sheikh Khwajah Ubayd Allah al-Ahrar (1404–1490 AD) who gained power in Maverannahr, Transoxiana, owned lands in south Uzbekistan and amassed uncountable wealth as a ruling ally of the Timurid Dynasty in the second half of the 15th century AD.⁷

As we have seen, the historical development of Sufism was divided into three subsequent stages: (1) *khanagah*, or the founding of the places of Sufi practices by a sheikh and his pupils for guidance; (2) *tariqah*, pathways which first appeared in Sufism at the 12th to 15th century AD, propagated different Sufi orders and schools, thus making new ways of ascetic practices; and (3) *taif*, which advocated the total submission of the adherents' will to that of their sheikh in sustaining a Sufi pathways, beginning in the 15th century AD.⁸ The emergence of Ishan came after the development of *taif*.

6 Marietta Stepaniants, "Historical Fate of Sufism (*Sufei pai de lishi mingyun* 蘇非派的歷史命運)," *Information of World Religion (shijie zongjiao ziliao)*, 3 (1982).

7 *History of Kazakh-Soviet Republic (Hasake Suweiai Shekuai Zhuyi Gonghuoguo Shi* 哈薩克蘇維埃社會主義共和國史), Volume 2 (Alma-ata: n.p., 1979), 236–238.

8 John Spencer Trimingham, *The Sufi Orders in Islam* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1971), 102–103.

2

What is the meaning of *Ishan*? Various interpretations by different Chinese scholars have been made, but most view the term *Ishan* as referring to an Islamic leader of the Sufi orders.⁹ The use of *Ishan* had been changed historically in different contexts.

According to Bartold and his colleagues, the term *Ishan* originated from Persian, meaning “they” or “the other.”¹⁰ This term was incorporated in a poem by Magtymguly Pyragy (1733–1797 AD) from Turkmen:

Ah, Brothers of Muslims,
What is the meaning of *Ishan*?
What is the meaning of *Tarwif*? ...
Let me explain if you don't know,
Ishan means “the other” ...¹¹

The origin of *Ishan*, however, cannot be traced back in history in its grammatical use indicating third person plural. In Central Asia, the word *Ishan* represents leadership in Islamic Sufism: it means leaders and teachers, as opposed to *mulide* (穆里德), or adherents or students. Bartold indicated that the term was used in the medieval times; Ahmad Kasani (d. 1490 AD in Samarkand) was called *Ishan* in his biography.¹² According to Gordlevski, after the death of the founder of the Naqshbandiyya order, Baha al-Din Naqshband, in a biography written in 1401 AD, the word *Ishan* was used to address Baha al-Din Naqshband.¹³ This implies that *Ishan* was used widely after the second half of the 14th century AD.

Why did such a common word, *Ishan*, become part of the religious vocabulary? As the use of the word suggests, the word was transmitted orally and such transmission was determined by a couple of factors. In Central Asia, the cultures of the inhabitants mixed ancestral worship and ancient beliefs with

- 9 Ren Jiyu (任繼愈), ed., “*Ishan* (*yi chan* 依禪),” in *Religion Dictionary (zongjiao cidian 宗教詞典)* (Shanghai: Shanghai cishu chubanshe, 1981); Liutsian Ippolitovich Klimovich, *Islam* (Moskva: Nauka, 1965), 193.
- 10 Vasilii Vladimirovich Bartold, “*Ishan*” *Collected Writings of Vasilii Vladimirovich Bartold (Baetuolide Xuanji 巴爾托利德選集)* (Moskva: n.p., 1966), roll 6: 675. Bartold was a famous scholar of Russia and the early Soviet regime, and an academician of Sciences who died in 1930.
- 11 S.M. Demidov, 106.
- 12 Vasilii Vladimirovich Bartold, roll 6, 675.
- 13 V.A. Gordlevski (戈爾德列夫斯基), *Baha al-Din Naqshbandi Bukhari* (巴哈丁·納合西班牙底·布哈爾斯基), 378–379.

feudalism. There was an ancient belief that evil spirits, knowing a person's name, would do harm to that person. Conversely, not calling a person's name, not only prevents the devil from learning it, but also honors the person. In some places, women are forbidden to call the names of their husbands, fathers-in-law and others, all of whom are in the privileged class; instead, the men are addressed with official and honorary titles, such as sheikh, Ishan, elder, etc.¹⁴ In *Elegies of the South* (*chu ci* 楚辭), it reads, "Do not infringe any taboo and conceal it." A person's name is not used for fear of angry gods and demons. Most likely, Ishan appeared in the context of the people in Central Asia being linguistically influenced by the Persian language and clearly understanding the use of a common word without religious connotations when addressing an honorable person.

Later on, there was an influx of Turks who brought with them Turkic languages, and "Ishan," originating from Persian infiltrated their daily language. After long periods of settlement, only a few Turks would identify the word "Ishan" after having learned Persian. Even so, some "Ishans", the revered masters, did not know where the word originated, let alone was it common knowledge. In other words, "Ishan" was adopted in the Turkic languages as an abstract title and later became a religious term which was eventually disseminated throughout Persia including to the Tajik people.¹⁵

In general, the succession of Ishan was arranged in a hereditary system. The rise of an Ishan family was determined by the long period of a *khalifa's* influence, who (as a *muleshide*) taught some local members of renowned clans in mosques and other religious centers. These members, showing their devotion and diligence, and on some occasions presenting gifts, aimed at having the title of Ishan conferred on them and being granted the power to preach and convert adherents, with the *muleshide's* blessing.

The success of the Ishan relied upon a number of crucial factors. Firstly, they made themselves as "the heirs of the saints," and proclaimed themselves as belonging to the lineage of prophet Muhammad (*sayyid*), a characteristic that would allow them greater influence on the reverant populace.¹⁶ Secondly, Ishans, compared with other Islamic leaders of higher positions, were easily

14 Liutsian Ippolitovich Klimovich, 193.

15 S.M. Demidov, 108–110.

16 Chen Huisheng (陳慧生), "The Struggle between Black and White Mountaineers and its historical development (*Shilun Qingdai Baishanpai he heishanpai zhijian de douzheng ji qi yingxiang* 試論清代白山派和黑山派之間的鬥爭及其影響)," in *Essays of Chinese Islam in Qing Dynasty* (*Qingdai Zhongguo Yisilanjiao lunji* 清代中國伊斯蘭教論集), ed. Ningxia Zhexue Shehui Kexue Yanjiusuo (寧夏哲學社會科學研究所) (Yinchuan: Ningxia renmin chubanshe, 1981).

approachable by the ordinary believers, thus becoming the only realistic local representative of the religion in certain regions. Thirdly, Ishans adapted to different cultures and environment, making it easier to compromise with different traditions and concepts. With regard to oppression from external force, enslavement, and underdevelopment of the region, Muslims in Central Asia were inclined to accept simple rituals and spells (of Islam). And yet, these Ishans, together with other Sufis, failed to further develop the religion; they maintained their faith in the Quran and only interpreted the Scripture in their own way.

As the adherents of Ishans were increasing, “each Ishan, *de facto*, became a leader of a Sufi order of his own.”¹⁷ The mushrooming of Sufi groups and orders marked the final stage of feudalism, determined by economic infrastructure. These newer groups were disconnected from the older Sufi orders, such as the Naqshbandiyya order, and their leaders were the only spiritual figures who appealed to their adherents. Here I recall an anecdote of a Russian teacher, M.C. Audreyev (安德列耶夫), in relation to Ishan leadership. In the mountainous area of Khujand ridge, in the 1930s, the teacher was on call to attend a meeting involving an Ishan. He completed the roll call and made the Ishan angry by reading aloud his full name, “How dare you call my name! All in here are called *mulide*, and I order all to stone you!” In order to show off his power, the Ishan called a short old man to follow his orders.

The Ishan said, “Are you my slave?” “Yes, Sir,” replied the old man. “Then you are prepared to die as I order,” commanded the Ishan. “Yes, Sir,” the old man confirmed.¹⁸ It was unbelievable that an Ishan in a remote area had such absolute power over his adherents more than a decade after the 1917 Russian revolution, notwithstanding the power of Ishans in the past.

There are some disputes about the exact timing of the emergence of the Ishan order. One group of scholars judged the Ishan order to have emerged in the 19th century to the early 20th century AD; others have argued that the Ishan order started as early as the 18th century. There is also no consensus about the exact time in which Sufism became widespread in Xinjiang. It is alleged that Sufism was dispersed in Xinjiang in the early 10th century AD; another allegation points to some individuals in the Arab region preaching Sufism at various points of time from 10th century to 17th century AD. The third allegation attributes the rise of Xinjiang Ishan to the preaching of Makhdum-i Azam with

17 O.A. Sukhareva, *Islam v Uzbekistane* (Tashkent: Izd-vo Akademii nauk Uzbekskoi SSR, 1960), 52.

18 See n. 13, *supra*.

his elder son, Khwajah Muhammad Amin, and his younger son, Muhammad Ishaq Wali.¹⁹ Where they came from is also a dispute among academics. One camp alleges that they came from Mecca, crossing through the Pamir Plateau to Kashgar. According to Scroll 4 of *Shengwuji* 聖武記 (*The Sacred Wars*) by Wei Yuan 魏源:

At the times of Sui and Tang, the King Muhammad was born from the spirits, and made the kingdoms of the Western Borders subservient to Him, thereby replacing Buddhism with His religion. He wrote thirty something Holy Scriptures, ordered His adherents to worship Heaven, required them to fast, sending His angel, Jibril, and preaching and circulating Islam. He handed down His Holy descendants to the twenty-sixth generation, a man called Muhammad (瑪默特) in the time of the late Ming Dynasty. Muhammad and his brethen came to different countries by starting their journeys from Medina via the Pamir to Kashgar. Their arrival in Kashghar began with the Xinjiang Hui nomads and the ascetors of Khwajah Khwaja-i Jahan.²⁰

The fourth alleged the preachers of Ishan came from Namangan, Uzbekistan; Makhdum-i Azam was the reverend name, "The Great Master," of Sheikh Ahmad Kasani.

According to the above information, the first use of Ishan was after the 15th Century in Central Asia. The first dissemination of Islam in China is thought to have occurred in 651 AD, whereas the first dissemination of Islam in Xinjiang occurred in approximately the Song Dynasty (late 10th century AD), but it is admitted that the Ishan sect was first on the historical stage in the 17th century AD, starting from the preaching of Sheikh Ahmad Kasani and his two sons. In fact, inaccuracy was found in Wei Yuan's accounts of Xinjiang Muslim Khanates. Yet it is noted that all Khans, like all Ishans, called themselves "Sadah."²¹

19 See n. 15, *supra*.

20 Wei Yuan (魏源), *The Sacred Wars* (Shengwuji 聖武記), roll 4.

21 For more information on the times that Islam was disseminated into China, please refer to: Zhang Xinglang (張星烺), *Collective Essays on the Historical Materials on Transporting between China and the West* (*Zhong xi jiaotong shiliao hui pian* 中西交通史料匯篇), vol. 2 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1977).

3

Among the Sufi sects organized with a *muleshide* at the center of religious activities, those sects in Central Asia in addition shared a common ritual—*dhikr*—the praise of Allah. *Dhikr*, recited, out loud or in the heart, by adherents, was accompanied by music with dervishes dancing. They recited certain texts of the Quran, such as Surah 33:41–42, “O ye who believe! Celebrate the praise of Allah, and do this often; and glorify Him morning and evening.”²² The Ishan sects adopted these specific features of Central Asian Sufi sects and made their own characteristics as explained below.

First, the Ishan sects and regional politics were unified. As mentioned, Sufism historically emerged with asceticism, which exhibited, to a certain extent, elements of democracy that fought against feudalism and serf exploitation. But, by the 16th century AD onwards, different Ishans founded their sects to allow for their personal influence on their adherents. In some cases, Ishans established their tyranny in their politico-religious regimes, and among these Ishans, political struggles recurred as results of sibling rivalries and massacres perpetrated in order to maintain an Ishan's dominating position. Consider, for instance, the political wrestling between the Aq Taghliqs or the White Mountain Group and Qara Taghliqs or the Black Mountain Group with their tribal allies. Originating from the same family clan, their rivalry became white-hot when the Qara Taghliqs employed the allied force of the Yarkant Khanate to dispel the head of White Mountain Group, Khwajah Afaq, from his areas of influence. Later, Khwajah Afaq took his men, along with the armies of the Dzungar Khanate, struck back and eliminated the Yarkant Khanate. The Dzungar Khanate ruled Xinjiang twice during the 73 years before the “pacification” by the Qing army. Even after the “pacification,” the rivalries between the White and the Black Mountain Khwajahs continued among the ruling Khwajahs of different tribes as separatist movements caused their nations and their peoples to despair.²³

At that time, facing the imperial expansion of other empires, some Ishans stood out and led their adherents to resist such expansion by force. For instance, there was an uprising in the Turkmen territory against the Russian empire in 1881 AD, and an Ishan led an upheaval in Fergana, Kyrgyzstan. Both, however, ended in failure.

²² Quran 33:41, 42; 4:103; 7:205.

²³ See n. 15, *supra*.

Secondly, the Ishan tradition adapted to different regions and nationalities in terms of local customs, rituals and beliefs. Prior to Islamic dissemination into Central Asia, almost all the nationalities in the area were Shamanist, Buddhist or followed other religions. Ishan adherents didn't merely tolerate the rituals and customs of the existing religions in Central Asia, but they also took them as part of their core beliefs. It was said that, "the fundamentals of the Ishan sects are the secular and naturalistic beliefs extant before Islam."²⁴ Miracles and myths of the *khalifa* were presented as popular messages about God and were easily accepted by adherents. It is a common factor of religions, Ishan sects not excepted, of encountering problems of adopting elements of local cultures into their religious practices. Islam, originating from the Arab Peninsula, inherited some fundamental principles as it adopted elements of Christianity and Judaism. Similarly, Islam preserved some regional or local characteristics when it was being disseminated, however inexorably.

In ancient times, Ishan sects adopted many elements found in Shamanic rituals. In Kazakhstan, for example, adherents took Allah as having equal status with *Tengri* (Heaven). The duality of Allah-Tengri, symbolized as mountains in Shamanism, led to the ritual practices of worshipping the mountains.²⁵ Similar practices of prostrating to the sun, the moon, the earth, the elements of fire and water, and in some cases prostrating to cliffs, caves and woods, were commonly found in neighboring areas.

Thirdly, there are similarities between the Ishan and the Shi'a, in terms of worshipping saints and paying religious homage to holy sepulchres. The Shi'a named imams, including Ali, Hassan, Hussein, and others, *ghulat*, and their tombs were called *gongbei* (*mazaar*). Those imams could perform miracles, the stories of which were later circulated among adherents as evidence of immortal spirits that had to be commemorated for blessings. In the view of some Ishan adherents, imams approached much closer to Allah, and the worship of *gongbei* was a viable substitute for the Hajj (the pilgrimage to Mecca). Xinjiang Muslims, for instance, praised Afaq Khwajah and encouraged people to pay homage to his tomb. They believed that paying homage to *al-ka'ba* (*Keerbai* 克爾白, shrine, cubic structure) and *mazar* (*Mazha* 麻扎, tomb, grave) was on equal merit as worshipping the Kaaba in Mecca. Furthermore, if they put some sand taken from the *mazar* to their eyes, their sins for 100 years could be forgiven and, and their spiritual impurity could be purified. A poet hence wrote:

²⁴ S.M. Demidov, 127.

²⁵ *History of Kazakh-Soviet Republic (Hasake Suweiai Shehuizhuyi Gongheguo shi 哈薩克蘇維埃社會主義共和國史)*, Volume 2 (Alma-ata: n.p., 1979), 260–362.

Praying at the *mazars* near you,
No need to go to Mecca for the Hajj.

In Ishan thought, one brings one's own existence into the other world; one must obey Ishan beyond death. It is, therefore, conceded that each tomb was an embodiment of a village or a sect governed by an immortal Ishan. The increasing number of mausoleums, in some cases, was related to the saints who were buried with their epitaphs designed to comfort adherents.

Fourth, Ishans were seen as demigods in connection with ancestral worship. As previously mentioned, Ishans legitimized their power by naming themselves as *Sayyid* (heirs of the Prophet Muhammad). Such titles succeeded by means of hereditary practices.²⁶

An Ishan required his adherents to live next to the *khanagah* (places of Sufi practice), working offices and mausoleums; most Ishans paraded in streets in order to convert more adherents (implying more gifts were collected).²⁷ Ishans and their adherents were more often found in villages than in cities, and in nomadic tribes than in settlements. And so Ishans are called the rural Sufi in Central Asia.

The power of Ishans in politics, religion and healings, as mentioned, was founded on the bedrock of the economic infrastructure that gave Ishans all sorts of social dominance, including control and embezzlement of *waqf*, the assets and lands of a mosque, and correspondingly valuable gifts. Their wealthy patrimony, given the hereditary titles of "Ishan," entailed protection from larger regimes and empires with their adherents under their divine rule.

Ishans, in addition, took control of religious education at middle and lower levels against what they saw as "secular education."

Ishans were the miraculous healers who healed sick people. Technically speaking, they play the role of shamans in the villages. While they are reciting, Ishans healed adherents by spitting saliva into a glass mixed with water.²⁸

Like Shamans, Ishans cast spells to dispel evil. Some historical records show there was a practice of *dhikr*, healing by circling the bedeviled person, and dancing with music. An Ishan at the center (supposedly of the Jahriyya order) recited Sufi verses as he whipped the person. In Ishan thought, evil is the cause of human sickness, and the practice of *dhikr* would be akin to a day or even a week without the presence of women.²⁹

²⁶ See n. 11, *supra*.

²⁷ See n. 11, *supra*.

²⁸ S.M. Demidov, 128.

²⁹ *Ibid*.

Ishans were also believed to heal infertility by performing rituals on women, and performing such rituals thereby confirmed the miracle-like power of Ishans. In the Turkmen regions, some names of males begin with "Ishan" because they were born with the blessings and magical spells of Ishans. Once an Ishan's spell was effective, the family, after a period of nurturing, brought their child to serve to the Ishan who had cast such spells. However, such arrangements were purely symbolic, demonstrating the Ishan's power.³⁰

Some places in Central Asia, like Ashgabat and surrounding areas, performed Ishan festivals. These were principally organized by Ishan with different events like horse racing and running, dancing, wrestling competitions etc. that lured an influx of people. In the view of the average adherents, this entertainment promoted Ishan thought, benefiting individual Ishans' rising prestige as well as providing a source of revenue.³¹ All and all, in the past, activities of Ishan sects took root in the daily lives of adherents; Ishan, as human figures, were the lively "saints" or "Sadah" in view of their devoted adherents who longed for an Ishan's blessings and were unconditionally obedient to him. Owing to changes of social institutions, the social influence related to individual Ishan has been shackled, yet their influences on the rural areas in Central Asia cannot be under-estimated.

At this stage, our research on the Ishan sect has been inadequate. There may be inaccuracies and incoherence in this chapter. Thus, our hope is that our colleagues will contribute by carrying out further research.

³⁰ Ibid.

³¹ S.M. Demidov, 121.

Section 4



On Cosmology and *Tawhid* in the Works of Wang Daiyu

Qin Huibin

Abstract

Wang Daiyu was a well-known Islamic scholar in the late Ming and the early Qing Dynasties. This chapter compares his two books, *Zhengjiao Zhenquan* (正教真詮) and *Qingzhen daxue* (清真大學). Drawing on some common features in his religious thought, two major aspects are discussed: the origin and formation of the cosmos, and the attributes of Allah. The author evaluates Wang Daiyu's system of thought, stance, and perspectives in terms of general cosmology and epistemology and their contributions to Islam.

Keywords

Wang Daiyu – Cosmology – *tawhid*

Wang Daiyu (circa 1560–1660 AD)¹ was one of the most famous Islamic scholars in China, along with Ma Zhu, Liu Zhi, and Ma Fuchu, the four being dubbed the “Four Khalifas” of Chinese Islamic dogmatics. Wang originated from the western region of Central Asia, and his ancestor served Zhu Yuanzhang, the founding emperor of the Ming, as the Superintendent of Astronomy. He was permitted to live in Nanjing, where Wang Daiyu was born. Wang “started

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1 Bai Shouyi (白壽彝), “Historical Tradition of Chinese Islam (*Zhongguo Muslim de lishi chuantong* 中國穆斯林的歷史傳統),” *Historical Research (Lishi yanjiu* 歷史研究) 2 (1962); Bai Shouyi (白壽彝), “Biography of Wang Daiyu (*Wang Daiyu zhuan* 王岱輿傳),” *Chinese Muslims (Zhongguo Muslim* 中國穆斯林) 1 (1982).

learning at a very early age, reading through many Chinese classics, especially Confucian thought,” and later was “well-versed in Confucianism, Taoism, Buddhism, and Islam.” He became known as an erudite, prolific scholar in Nanjing, writing many books. When the Shunzhi Emperor of Qing came to the throne, Wang relocated to Beijing, spent his scholarly time there and became an epitome of Chinese literati, discussing all topics ranging from classics to the ways of human beings. He died in Beijing and was buried in Li’s cemetery.

The major works of Wang included *Zhengjiao Zhenquan* (正教真詮), *Qingzhen daxue* (清真大學) and *Xizhen Zhengda* (希真正答). *A True Explanation* was printed in 1642 AD. Wang was the first Chinese in recorded history to use Chinese writing to convey the doctrines of Islam.² This chapter focuses upon and analyzes what he wrote about Islamic dogmatics and cosmology.

1 On the Origin of the Universe (Cosmology)

Chinese philosophy rarely talked about the origins and formation of the universe; instead, much of China’s philosophical literature covered topics on social ethics, a topic that, in general, was characterized as an important part of ancient Chinese civilization. Therefore, in terms of cosmology, Chinese thought was not much more sophisticated than its Greek counterparts. Wang Daiyu indicated that Chinese thought was “only for statecraft and the pacification of the people,” or to be used to “discipline the (moral) self and practice the good,” and the like. It was not concerned with “who first knows God and His holiness as the primordial originator of all thing and creatures whose procreations were housed by the true and one originator. Is this originator regarded as an entity in Chinese philosophy?”³ Even so, some contemporary western scholars have presented the view on Chinese philosophy that, “the ancient Chinese were not interested in the origin of the universe, but they were keenly interested in the forms of it instead. China, like the West, has its myths of the

2 Bai Shouyi (白壽彝), “Biography of Wang Daiyu (*Wang Daiyu Chuan* 王岱輿傳),” *Chinese Muslims (Zhongguo Musilin 中國穆斯林)* 1 (1982).

3 Wang Daiyu (王岱輿), *A True Explanation of the Right Religion, The Great Learning of Islam, and Rare and True Answers* (*Zhengjiao Zhenquan, Qingzhen Daxue, Xizhen Zhengda* 正教真詮, 清真大學, 希真正答) (Yinchuan: Ningxia People’s Publishing House, 1988), 39–40.

creation of the world. Unlike the story found in the Bible, the Chinese myths about creation lack central figures such as creators and heroes. In such circumstances, the status of such myths was not comparable with those of Christianity and Judaism...⁴

Being a prominent Chinese Islamic scholar, Wang Daiyu investigated why an “originator” had not been found in Chinese philosophy. He tried to answer this with Islam, a system of thought foreign to its Chinese counterpart. Wang asserted that Allah created Heaven, human beings, and all other things in the world. Such creation went through a process in several stages, namely, in a sequence of “the true one (*zhen* 真)” — “the oneness (*shu* 數)” — “Heaven and Earth (*Yin Yang* 陰陽)” — “the Four Elements (*si da* 四大, namely Earth, Water, Fire and Air) — Men and all creatures (*Wanwu* 萬物).

Wang Daiyu’s theory on the origin of the cosmos is the syncretism of both traditional Islamic philosophy and the idealism of Chinese Song-Ming neo-Confucianism.

Historically, Islamic philosophy proposes three related premises about the formation of the universe: the first is atomology (the doctrine of atoms), with the others related to fundamentalism (God as the sole creator), and the philosophy of Neo-Platonism and Aristotelian thought.⁵ The second premise states that all things come from the direct creation of one God, or Allah; the third proposes, in the Islamic version of Neo-Platonism, that such a creating force emits from one entity—the sole medium to create all things. The entity was dubbed as “the initial motion of spirit” or “the second reality,” and so forth. Wang called it as “the oneness,” the medium “within Allah and all the beings in the world.”⁶ In other words, the premise proposes a single medium by which all the forces emitted from the One create all things, including humans and nature.

In parallel, the Chinese idealism that is similar to the ontology of “the One” as described above is found in the writings of the Song Neo-Confucian Zhou Dunyi (周敦頤, 1017–1073 AD) who created the *Diagram of the Supreme Ultimate* (*Taiji tu shuo* 太極圖說). The creative sequence from the originator, the Supreme Ultimate, follows the path in order: the Supreme Ultimate (*Taiji*

4 Edward H. Schafer, *Ancient China* (New York: Time-life Books, 1979), 101.

5 Philip Khuri Hitti, *History of the Arabs from the Earliest Times to the Present* (*Alabo tong shi* 阿拉伯通史), trans. Ma Jian (馬堅) (Beijing: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1979), 701.

6 T.J. de Boer, *History of Islamic Philosophy* (*Yisilan zhexue shi* 伊斯蘭哲學史), trans. Ma Jian (馬堅) (Beijing: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1958), 91.

太極), Yin and Yang (陰陽), the Five Elements (*wu xing* 五行, namely Wood, Fire, Earth, Metal, Water), and finally, Men and all creatures.⁷

Wang Daiyu inherited the legend from the tradition of Zhou Dunyi who writes on the subject of the ontology of the creator, known as the Supreme Ultimate. In a sentence, Zhou's ontological theory is a one-to-many premise about the creation of the universe that is comparable to that of Al-Ghazali (1058–1111 AD).⁸ This type of theory explaining the existence of Allah and its related attributes holds many contradictions. Allah is supposed to be singular. A premise is then predicated on the One, but if the flowing nature of the creative force created all the creatures without a medium, then it loses its omnipresence and omnipotence. With regard to this notion of Allah, Wang criticized Zhou's notion of the Supreme Ultimate for its predication on *li* (理) or the necessity of learning the tacit principles of all things in order to reveal heavenly order. In other words, the One was misplaced as “the supreme, original governing force of all things,” instead of “the originator of all things,” because *li* follows the Supreme Ultimate but does not exercise autonomy and is subject to dependence (on other causes).” Use writing as an analogy: if the written reasons and principles are the Supreme Ultimate, then the writer writing them is Allah. The status of the writing and the writer are not interchangeable, *ad absurdum*.

The Japanese scholar Tazaka Kodo affirms that Allah, the highest God of Islam, understood as the equivalent of “Heaven,” is taken as a core subject of Chinese beliefs,⁹ which is not completely correct. Once upon a time, Allah too was understood in terms of Heaven, but the following Chinese Han scholars placed Allah as the equivalent of Heaven. Taking Allah to mean “Heaven” would, as mentioned, take Allah as “the Heaven of all heavens.” To follow Wang's argument: a supreme Heaven is above all Heavens.

As Wang Daiyu describes in his philosophy of cosmology, Allah represents “the true one.” “The oneness” is Yin and Yang; The Four Elements means “Earth, Water Fire and Air. The concept, modified as the “Five Elements,” is more or less equivalent to its Chinese parts in the Eight Trigrams. The forming order between the link of “the true one” and “the oneness” that has never appeared before belongs to a special character of cosmology of Islamic philosophy.

7 Joseph A. Adler, “Zhou Dunyi: The Metaphysics and Practice of Sagehood,” in *Sources of Chinese Tradition*, ed. Wm. Theodore de Bary and Irene Bloom, 2nd ed. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1999), 673–674.

8 Boer, 150, 155–157.

9 Tazaka Kodo, 中國における回教の傳來とその弘通 (*The origins and spread of Islam in China*) (Tokyo: Toyo Bunko, 1964), 1290.

In other words, the flow, as such, makes all creatures in the world so they do not have any direct relation to Allah, and Wang concludes that Allah stands as omnipotence and omnipresence, though with his Islamic discourses representing elements of (Neo-) Confucianism, Wang thus creates his own theory of the origins of the universe.

Wang Daiyu says, with his thesis that no doubt falls into the study of theology, that Allah has created the world. Chinese idealists, such as Neo-Confucians proper, pinpointed the origin of the universe as *li* (reality) or *taiji* (Yin and Yang), which suggests some basic elements of secularism; but with regard to *li* or “the Supreme Ultimate” which has been given a metaphysical nature that determines the matters, these concepts are at best described as an abstraction of theology. In addition, the Song and Ming Neo-Confucians, as discussed above, put the “Supreme Ultimate” before such creation of the universe; in fact, I think, they also created a “Pandora Box,” thereby making such a simple, secularized theorization obscure. Wang, therefore, scorned such a theorization, in his words from *Qingzhen Daxue* (清真大學), “Oh dear! The commoners are only concerned with the procreation of all things, from which God created, the one and only God”.¹⁰

Wang, in stipulating his argument, thinks that the difference between “the true one” and “the oneness” is the key to understanding the importance of the creation of the universe. He says, “the couple are master and servant, and definitely, based upon this difference, then we get to know the origin of the universe.” In *Qingzhen Daxue*, he further elaborates, “The key of knowing the universe, first of all, is to know its origin; to know the origin, one should come to distinguish between “the true one” and “the oneness”; without distinguishing such difference, how can a person know all the things and creatures? Why? It is because the person cannot differentiate the “stem and roots”, thus not differentiating the “branches and leaves.” What Wang says about “stem and roots”¹¹ in *Qingzhen Daxue* was an affirmative premise of monotheism; he denotes “the many ways to govern human deeds,” derived from such a theory of monotheism, characterized by “knowing the truth,” “knowing thyself,” “upright principles of our hearts,” “earnestness,” “promises,” “discipline thyself,” “set moral examples to family,” “ruling the country,” etc. In other words, if a person was practicing righteous conduct in accordance with Allah, but did not know the “true one” and “the oneness,” whose deeds are related to this righteous conduct, it would not be praiseworthy.

¹⁰ Wang, 232.

¹¹ Wang, 230.

Zhu Xi (朱熹), one of the founders of Neo-Confucianism, taught, “knowing the moral virtues” throughout a person’s lifelong practice of “preserving the virtues designated by, and descending from, Heaven and refraining from all kinds of human desires.”¹² His contemporary, Lu Jiuyuan understood that such knowing was directed to the heart, basically.¹³ Another Neo-Confucian, Wang Yangming treats such knowing of moral virtues as “benevolence” that “embraces all things and creatures into one.”¹⁴ All their definitions to “knowing the moral virtues” are cloaked in social ethics. Drawing a parallel with such knowing, Wang Daiyu painstakingly predicates his discourses of ethics on the ontology of the universe, on which Wang grounded the faith of Islam. In such theorizing, idealism and unfettered faith are cornerstones that are more important than knowing, discovering and political activism. Zhu and Lu have debated such preference in epistemology of the universe, and yet they conclude “all knowing and practices follow the pre-understanding of the universe (the descending, heavenly moral virtues and the restraints of human desires in preparation for receiving these virtues).” No doubt, Wang shared this moral common ground with his Neo-Confucian ancestors.

What Wang Daiyu means by “the true one” is Allah; “the oneness” is *taiji*, the world of *li*, the source of which is Allah. The basic model of the formation of the universe is not at the level of Allah, but the world of *li* shaped by the will of Allah. And hereafter the world of *li* creates the material world. Wang here gives an analogy: Allah is a craftsman; *li* is a model; the world of matter, or the universe, is a mirror. He adds, “A model can be a mirror, and yet it cannot be without craftsmanship; or who says that a model can be a mirror without craftsmanship?” Wang has made a camera obscura of his cosmology that differs from the average person’s. Like all other theories of the world’s creation, Wang’s theory aims at safeguarding the vested interests of the exploiting class. It tells the people that nothing in this physical world can be changed by physical force itself, because all physical matters are pre-created in another spiritual world above. If there is still any defect in the physical world that need to be remedied, such remedy would be given from Heaven, but not from the physical world itself. Religion, as Engels criticizes Munzer, was such that “Heaven was

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- 12 Zhu Xi (朱熹), *Dialogue with Zhu Xi (Zhuzi yulei 朱子語類)*, ed. Li Jingde (黎靖德) (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1986), roll 13.
 - 13 Lu Jiuyuan (陸九淵), *Collections of Lu Jiuyuan (Lu Jiuyuan ji 陸九淵集)* (Beijing: Zhonghua Bookshop, 1980), roll 1.
 - 14 Wang Yangming (王陽明), *Collections of Wang Yangming (Wang Wencheng Gong quan shu 王文成公全書)* (Shanghai: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1936).

to be sought in this life, not beyond, and it was . . . the task of the believers to establish Heaven, the kingdom of God, here on earth.”¹⁵

Furthermore, Wang Daiyu is affirmative and constructive rather than nihilist. In *Qingzhen Daxue* (清真大學), he says, “Nothing can be more important than the true existence (of all worlds), and conversely, nothingness and disbelief are the least important.” Wang clearly opposes the view that some existing things can be generated from “nothingness”; instead, he believes that only existing things can create new things. What he considers the existence of something has three different layers of meaning.

The meanings of existence and nothingness vary in different contexts. There are three types of existence first, no beginnings and no endings that are only featured in Allah the omnipotent; second, with beginnings but no end that refer to the existence of the immortals in the oneness; and third, with beginnings and ends, like the lives and deaths of all worldly creatures.¹⁶

Among the three types, only the third type refers to the material world with its beginnings and ends. Based upon the types of existence elaborated by Wang, the existence of matter is solely dependent on “the oneness and sole existence of Allah,” which has “no beginning and no end.” The world of matter is called “the dependent existence.” The first and the second type are non-substantial and non-material. Even so they have “no beginning and no ending” and “with beginnings but no end,” they are not dependent on matter; on the contrary, matter relies on them. In Wang’s view, obviously, with regard to the world of matter, existence “with beginnings and ends” cannot be the source of the world; only the non-material world, with “no beginnings and no ends,” can. Wang’s premise does not take Allah from his ontological status, but bases the cosmology on the “existence of Allah” in a way that affirms his theory of Allah and the world.

Like other idealists, Wang Daiyu asserts, “Matter is created from the non-material”; “the creator does not look like the thing he creates.” He says,

15 Karl Marx, *Collections of Marx and Engels* (*Makesi Engesi quanji* 馬克思恩格斯全集), trans. Zhong Gong Zhong Yang Makesi Engesi Liening Sidalin zhezuo Bianyi Ju (中共中央馬克思恩格斯列寧斯大林著作編譯局) (Beijing: Renmin chubanshe, 1958), roll 4: 218.

16 Wang, 61.

Who can create himself? Assuming that thing asserts itself, it thereby can create by itself. If there is a pre-given thing-in-itself, then why does it create itself again? If there is nothing-in-itself, then the force that creates the thing-in-itself is not a property of, or an entity related to, the thing-in-itself. Therefore matters cannot create themselves.¹⁷

In other words, Wang's premise is that all that is created is preceded by something else; if these things being created exist, what else do they create? If the thing being created does not exist, then the entity, which created the thing, definitely, is not the thing itself. Therefore, a thing cannot create itself because it never possesses the potential of self-creation. Then who creates the world and makes all that exists? Wang here states, "Before the world comes to existence, there must be a precedent." The fundamental problem that can be identified about Wang's premise is the external force as the precedent that creates the world of matter. Following his line of thinking, there is the first cause that explains such creation, or "the first precedent that is not matter in question." The first cause is nothing else but Allah. Wang Daiyu logically explains the existence of Allah in terms of "the true one," and "the oneness."

If Allah is understood as the creator of the world, then how does he create the world? Does he create the world from his blueprint that envisions a diversified, harmonious world, or does he create it endlessly and timelessly? If he creates the world as from a blueprint, then how would one explain the dyadic nature of the birth and death of the created? Wang ponders such questions and provides answers.

The world is material, full of matter, and united. This diversity is grounded on the premise that "As the essence of all thought consists in bringing things together into a unity, so being, as soon as it is conceived, is conceived as unified, and the idea of the world as indivisible; and because *conceived* of being, the *idea of the world*, is unified, therefore the real world is also an indivisible unity."¹⁸ This is clearly a premise of the materialists.

To a certain extent, Wang had some knowledge of such diversity and materiality of the world. He points out that the above properties are "beauty." He adds, "Would anyone like a world that is monochromatic? One would be delighted at the sights of a tapestry of colors. Tones and smells would also delight us and make us alive."¹⁹ His vision of the world and "beauty" is therefore cor-

¹⁷ Wang, 80.

¹⁸ Frederick Engels, "World Schematism," in *Anti-Dühring: Herr Eugen Dühring's Revolution in Science*, trans. Emile Burns (Moscow: Progress Publishers, 1947).

¹⁹ Wang, 65.

rect, but he affirms the harmony and unity of the world is based upon Allah: "the magnificent creation that Allah, and only He, has created would never be created again because He is only the one who has created the uniqueness of this world."

Furthermore, Wang Daiyu asserts that Allah has created the world once and magnificently, "in less than a moment, everything is there" and "Allah shows his omnipotence as the only precedent; hereafter, the world comes into being and embraces all creatures and things he has designed, with nothing more and nothing less, and never changing, thereafter." Nonetheless, Allah has created the world by various means, namely "obvious" and "tacit" creation. In philosophical terms, they refer to the conditions of "reality" and "potentiality." What Allah has obviously created are the things and creatures that we observe as reality. The tacit dimension of creation, in contrast, falls into the possible and the potential and exists within the dualism of the motionless and the dynamic. Therefore if the potential comes to the real, Allah uses different ways to "signal" the potential coming to the real. Then the potential, in other words, is manifested as becoming a real thing.

If, given that Allah magnificently creates the world, and the real world maintains its shapes and content in the past, present and future, then its maintenance is contradictory to the basis of human rationality. Such explication is apparently lenient in the measure of time. To rephrase, Allah creates all the things and creatures in the present; may they be so in the future. A supplementary explanation of this is that all things have been kept ready for creation within the framework of stillness and dynamism, subject to "timely signals" of Allah. Wang henceforth supplements his explication, "Before and after many ages, all creatures and things are in the God's eyes." In fact, Wang discerns the nature of mutability, and he recognizes the origin of creation and the finality of destruction. However, Wang is ambiguous to the changing nature of development. He says, "The way to Islam only states how all creatures and things come to being and perish, but not procreate." Recognizing "procreation", it is unavoidable to mention "development". Based upon this, Islamic doctrines only talk about "the way of life-making" and "birth and death," but never "procreation."

The world and all creatures are so complex, harmonious and magnificent. How do these matters in such a world change? Wang continues to say, "See, all things and immortals have their respective creative potentiality or potency, and whether creating other things or self-creation."²⁰ This self-creation, however, is solely limited to modifications of material forms, not creating "new

20 Wang, 33.

matter” by the thing itself. Wang here elaborates, “Nothing has been found by creating itself.” The only originator of such creation is Allah.

And all other things procreating and saints coming to being have been designated by Allah; they are not creating themselves, like making tools by wood and bamboo to carve gold and jade, but wood, bamboo, gold and jade are different matters that are differentiated by their shapes, forms and affordances as a masterpiece of craft is being made. They come from nothingness to thingness, an indication of Allah’s power that actually creates it. With Allah’s power, He orders all creatures rising up immediately, thereby showing His omnipotence to which the power of both mortals and immortals are incomparable.²¹

Wang Daiyu admits the artificial thing-to-thing changes, as if bamboo strips were sewn to make a basket. Yet Wang denies the potential of self-change in the thing-in-itself, in its essence.

Within all the chains made by creatures created by Allah, there flares a gleam of light radiating that links the essences of all creatures—the human. Now we see the place of the human in the cosmology of Wang Daiyu as a religious scholar. In Wang’s view, the human is composed of two different elements having different origins, natures and effects. The first is “earth” and the second, “spirituality” or “the human’s true nature (*zhen xing* 真性).” The earth is the matter used for composing the human body; spirituality nurtures the soul; the true human nature comes from Allah. When Allah finishes making the human body, he blows through the mouth of the body, giving life to it.²² This breath of life is called “the human’s true nature,” as written in the Quran: “And when I have proportioned him and breathed into him of My [created] soul, then fall down to him in prostration.” (Quran: 15:29) “Then He [Allah] proportioned him and breathed into him from His [created] soul and made for you hearing and vision and hearts; little are you grateful. And they say, “When we are lost within the earth, will we indeed be [recreated] in a new creation?” Rather, they are, in [the matter of] the meeting with their Lord, disbelievers.” (Quran: 32:8, 9) Allah’s breath, as Wang Daiyu describes, becomes *iman*,²³ often translated as “the true gift.” As Wang writes, “*Iman* as the true gift (from the breath of Allah) was given to humans who have the power to imitate Allah,

²¹ Wang, 47.

²² Ma Zhu (馬注) has offered similar depiction, see his work: Ma Zhu, *Qingzhen zhinan* (清真指南) (Beijing: Beijing chubanshe, 2000), roll 7.

²³ Imam, translated as (*yiman* 伊曼), meaning faith.

and based upon this gift granted to human, they know Allah.”²⁴ This “true gift” connotes the religious instinct of humans, or is alternatively described as “the internal, religious gene given by nature.”

The “true gift” has its paramount importance in Islamic theology, because it has affect before life, during life and for the afterlife of a believer that explicates the omnipotence of Allah. The “true gifts” to all humans are the seeds, ready to plant, that give the potency of humans in life and action. Humans with their lifespans, like sprouting seeds, come to know God as the ultimate purpose of their lives; and after their human lives, these spouting seeds come to fruition. With regard to humans, they become their “true selves” by the gifting of *iman*, thereby knowing Allah. In certain historical dialogues among Islamic scholars, there is a similar saying as aforementioned, “the soul is the human,”²⁵ or “the rational soul is a true man or woman.”²⁶

Wang proposes that the human is composed of the earth and that Allah gives the soul. We can understand his proposition of human as a “structural duality.” The absolute nature of human existence is to experience and know Allah, as a fusion of horizons between the gifts of *iman* and unity with Allah. The human existence is for the sake of Allah, thus the human faith in the latter is established. Of course, all these propositions are merely deliberations and fabrications of theology.

In fact, human existence is not such a complicated and nebulous question in philosophy, nor is it necessary to be proved. But how does a human exist? What is human nature? From ancient to modern times, various philosophers have provided various answers to these questions. Wang, as a religious scholar, has his answers. Karl Marx and Frederic Engels, in criticizing Feuerbach, reply to such questions, with Feuerbach never arriving at the really existing active individual, but stopping at the abstraction, “man,” where he gets no further than recognizing ‘the true, individual, corporeal man,’ emotionally...²⁷ This criticism is also rightly applied to Wang Daiyu, who reduces all humans to the slaves of the “true gifts.” Within the scope of “religious affection,” Wang asserts “this real, solitary and fleshly human.” Straightly speaking, Wang puts humans as “the entities that receive the true gifts, with which they become real human.”

²⁴ Wang, 36.

²⁵ The saying of Al-Ghazali, see: Boer, 160. Jalal al-Din Rumi has a similar position, see: Masse, 69.

²⁶ Boer, 128.

²⁷ Karl Marx, “Feuerbach—Opposition of the Materialist and Idealist Outlook,” in *German Ideology*, trans. Tim Delaney, Bob Schwartz & Brian Baggins (Moscow: Progress Publishers, 1968).

The teaching, however, of this understanding of what it is to be human is deeply reflexive: The true gifts of Allah have never endowed the human with its instincts of religious affiliation and psyche; the human is never *homo religiosus*.

2 *Tawhid* (The Unity and Uniqueness of God in Islam)

In Wang Daiyu's trilogy of "oneness," there is still one concept which has not been discussed, "the bodily, sensuous oneness," which is the reverse path of Allah's work of creation: from this "bodily, sensuous oneness" to "the oneness"—the horizon where humans find themselves in the true nature that pertains to "the true oneness." At this final stage, the cosmology of Islamic theology and its epistemology has hitherto infused into one.

In Islamic dogmatics, it is said that over 90 percent of topics relate to Allah.²⁸ Concerning these, Wang discussed Allah mostly in his writings. In terms of Islamic dogmatics, Wang Daiyu has syncretized both Islam and Confucianism in a skillful way.

With regard to dogmatics, what Wang Daiyu has contributed to Islam is his coinage and interpretation of the "true gifts." Wang has utilized the Confucian notion of "learning the moral virtues as exemplars (*ming de zhi shuo* 明德之說)" and the notion of Buddhahood as universal to humanity and put them in his frame of the discourse of "the true gift," thus enriching the latter's content. As described above, humans, after the breath of Allah has been blown through their mouths, become truly human, and the breath gives birth to the religious instinct of humans. In other words, the inborn, instinctive religiosity of Islam is akin to the latent tendency of awakening to Buddhahood, proposed by Zhu Daosheng (竺道生) for every single human. In this respect, both Islam and Buddhism share the same teleology.²⁹

The concept of the true gift has its prime importance to Muslims because it reminds the people of their religious instincts; all forms of religious rites, including reciting the Quran only hint at the true gift in the hearts of believers. The gift is inborn, whereas the nurturing of one's religiosity relies on the acquired knowledge of Allah. Wang stresses the importance of nurturing one's religiosity that allows the true gift to come into fruition. In other words, not only does the true gift give the innate religiosity of humans, but it is also followed by all necessary rites and practices. A general neglect of religious life or

28 Hitti, 149.

29 About Zhu Daosheng (竺道生), see: Ren Jiyu (任繼愈), *History of Chinese Philosophy* (*Zhongguo zhexueshi* 中國哲學史), vol. 2 (Beijing: Renmin chubanshe, 1979).

a focus on edification of desires would hardly sustain such a religion, as Wang often reminds us.³⁰

Then what is the meaning of “knowing Allah”? Until now, it has been much clearer to say that the faith of Muslims is grounded on repayment to Allah for the true gifts that have been delivered to them. In other words, Allah and his true gift are two sides of the same coin. Looking at it from a different angle, Allah is infused in the delivery of his true gifts. Cloaked in Sufism, Wang’s guidance to the true ways of Islam leads to attaining oneness with Allah. Some scholars make this guidance more explicit by stating, “Sufi adherents only preserve their religiosity in their hearts.”³¹ Based upon this foundation of faith, the true gift is “the internal, heartfelt self-revelation.” Such human revelation has revealed Allah, and following Allah governs the minds and hearts of humans; Allah has created the true gift, and thereby divinity is infused into this gift. Wang Daiyu attacks the Neo-Confucian position that “My heart is the center of the universe,” but instead, with regard to his position in relation to faith and the true gift, he is captivated by such a premise similar to what he attacks. Returning to Allah, a person immerses in truth. The subjective heart and objective Allah become one. Therefore, objective idealism becomes subjective idealism in religion. The true gift is the bridge of the one’s heart and Allah.

Wang suggests that since religious beliefs are pre-given as innate and intrinsic, then the existence and sustenance of religion fits human nature; thus, religion and human will co-exist for eternity. On the contrary, a non-believer of religion, or an atheist, or anti-theist is against humanity and this should be avoided; thus, atheism would not last for long. Such a logical conclusion Wang says, connotes that “human hearts are in (religious) chains”³² thus enforcing a worldview built in religious idealism and expanding the realms of such a religion.

Parallels similar to the true gift can be found in Chinese philosophy. One notable example is “the origin of moral virtues” discussed by Confucians may in fact be an equivalent to the true gift.³³ Grounding his method in secular philosophy, Wang Yangming starts his inquiry with the founder of all things.

30 Wang, 36–38.

31 Masse, 175.

32 Karl Marx, “Critique of Hagel’s philosophy of law (*Heige’er fazhexue pipan daoyan* 黑格爾法哲學批判導言),” in *Selected Collections of Marx and Engels (Makesi Engesi Xuanji* 馬克思恩格斯選集), trans. Zhong Gong Zhong Yang Makesi Engesi Liening Sidalin zhezuo Bianyi Ju (中共中央馬克思恩格斯列寧斯大林著作編譯局) (Beijing: Renmin chubanshe, 1980).

33 Kodo, 1421.

He says, "All things and creatures have the same origin in one. What has been found in this exhaustive inquiry is a gleam of mind found in the deepest parts of our hearts."³⁴ The gleam of mind here, therefore, gives similar meanings to those the true gift sheds light on.

The second problem of Wang Daiyu's dogmatics is in relation to the attributes of Allah. The relationship between the oneness of Allah and the multiplicity of the attributes of Allah has aroused academic debate in Islamic philosophy. Al-Ghazali's premise, "that the plurality of moral virtues does not oppose the oneness of Allah," resolved the controversies about the attributes of Allah.³⁵

Related to the problem of Allah's attributes, Wang coins the couplets, "essence-usage" and "antecedent-subsequence."

Wang affirms that the ontology of Allah has no attributes and no figures, but is unique and singular, timeless and outside any material conception of space. Allah is indescribable, not sensed or imaginable in the mind. Allah is unique and indescribable in His virtues; He is never known through one's sense and faculty of reason.

Concerning the question of the oneness of Allah, Wang Daiyu's view is more or less similar to the al-Mutazilah School. The Al-Mutazilah School advocated that Allah has two characteristics: uniqueness and justice. This makes Al-Ghazali worried. Al-Ghazali criticized Avicenna and other scholars as they "excessively revered Allah", thus making Allah to be known only for His "full name" and "generality", and "making Him like a corpse."³⁶ Notwithstanding Al-Ghazali's excessive worries, the religious enterprise had philosophers to produce professional knowledge of "pure" theology, for filling in possible gaps. In terms of class-ruling societies, "the real religion itself is a real philosophy, or vice versa."³⁷

On the ontological nature of Allah, He can be described as either "essence" or "efficacy." Wang here elaborates, "the only one and the mighty . . . for the sake of all things and creatures, He orders their presence at His convenience, and at this moment, the terms essence and efficacy (or usage) have hitherto been differentiated in describing Allah. With the condition of self-autonomy, Allah, while maintaining motionlessness and spontaneous moments, is Himself unique, indescribable and not knowable by any attributes. When interacting

34 See n. 11, *supra*.

35 Boer, 161.

36 Boer, 158.

37 The saying of John the Scott. See: Bertrand Russell, *History of Western Philosophy* (London: Routledge, 1996), 377.

with other things, Allah is a motor at rest or in His motions, but those things are not related to Allah Himself. Although “essence is not separated from its efficacy . . . they differ when being infused altogether.” Through this infusion, Allah is manifest into all known attributes that are describable. The attributes of Allah that we have known only refer to His efficacy (a suggestive one-to-many relation), not His essence through the presence of “the oneness.” But these attributes are a signification of the essence of Allah.

Having dual properties of knowable efficacy and the unknowable essence, Allah is either unique or not unique, and either can be known or not be known. Wang sees Allah in a dualism of such attributes and as a magnificent superior of all immortals.

Marx once said about religion on the question of the Jews, “the Jewish question loses its *theological* significance and become a *secular* question.”³⁸ All theories, in their true nature, are formed on the basis of class, and theology is no exception. People feel that God—or Allah—is almighty because they are superior. Meanwhile, people feel God or Allah as omnipresent. In other word the God they believe must unite might and omnipotence, and neither attribute is absent from this unity. Only the unity can hypnotize the people with the aroma of religion. The Islamic dogmatics interpreted by Wang are more or less the same as the aroma of religion, and this has aroused long-standing controversies on the attributes of Allah.

The sequence of creation, as Wang Daiyu describes, is thus: true oneness (*Zhenyi* 真一)—numerical oneness (*Shuyi* 數一)—bodily oneness (*Tiyi* 體一); his path to knowing Allah in sequence is—bodily oneness—numerical oneness, and true oneness. In particular, “the bodily oneness” is the way to know Allah in question. Reviewing Wang’s writings, the way to know Allah can be found in four different ways: (1) revelations through reading the Holy Scriptures; (2) by experiencing miracles; (3) one’s rationality through debate and thought; and (4) through one’s intuition via mystic practices and self-cultivation.

Wang Daiyu remarks that the existence of Allah is based upon the world’s existence and unity, and in *Qingzhen daxue* (清真大學) he adds, “The Heaven and the Earth henceforth prove the existence of the omnipotence of Allah . . . the proof of Allah is by the zenith and the nadir.” The world of matter, as Wang remarks, is the sole and ultimate end that Allah has created.

38 Karl Marx, “Debate on the Jewish Problems (*Lun Youtairen wenti* 論猶太人問題),” in *Collections of Marx and Engels* (*Makesi Engesi quanji* 馬克思恩格斯全集), trans. Zhong Gong Zhong Yang Makesi Engesi Liening Sidalin zhezuo Bianyi Ju (中共中央馬克思恩格斯列寧斯大林著作編譯局) (Beijing: renmin chubanshe, 1958).

It can be said that knowing God through His creation is an indirect way. If one premised that such objects created by God replace Him, as to taking them in replacement of the creator, then the premise is absurd and blasphemous. As Wang says, “saying the objects are not the fingerprints and footsteps of Allah, but Allah Himself, would be just as absurd as calling them God.”³⁹ “It would be heretical to confuse the movement created by the Origin with the movement maintained by human beings, or vice versa.”⁴⁰ If the creations themselves are treated as God Himself, then two different tendencies would emerge: (1) idolization and (2) pantheism. These two tendencies are antithetical to Islam. Concerned about these tendencies, Wang Daiyu affirms that God has been known through His creations, and not vice versa.

Through some normative or contingent events that signify the progenitors of Allah (or *ayah* in Arabic), the Holy Scriptures reminded Muslims of His existence in their experiences. Regarding the messages of Allah’s existence, which the Quran repeats in many ways, in the history of Islamic philosophy, not only does Sufism recognize miracles, but so too does the rational school of al-Mutazilah agree on this trend.⁴¹

Belief in God comes through revelations; humans reveal Allah’s messages that have descended from Heaven. In other words, this manifestation makes humans believe in Allah whose words are the truth that has been exhaustively and, more importantly, authentically recorded in the Quran.

There is a popular motto in the Arabic world, “Know thyself.” As Prophet Muhammad said, “To know yourself is to know Allah.”⁴² Some would say “Know thyself” is a basic doctrine and the only way to know Allah.⁴³

Wang Daiyu said something similar related to Confucianism. Wang coined the term *gezhi* (格致) (science, or knowing the material) and self-discipline (*xiuqi* 修齊) which, in Confucian teachings, helps one to “know thyself.”

Why is “know thyself” a prerequisite of “knowing God”? In *Zhenyi*, Wang defines humans as “the all-embracing convergence of all things and creatures... through the human body as the magnificent oneness, such a human body is the image of the Heaven.”⁴⁴ He also says, “The human body is an embodiment of the principled knowing of the *Taiji*” ... “Observing a human

39 Wang, 48.

40 Wang, 22.

41 Boer, 40–46.

42 Boer, 19–20.

43 Izutsu Toshihiko, *イスラーム思想 Islamic Thought* (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1977), 225.

44 Wang, 19.

body is to see through the nuts and bolts, the magnificent clock-work of the Heaven and the Earth.”⁴⁵ The cosmos is the big world; humans, the small world.⁴⁶ The bodily oneness, hinted at by Wang as a method by which one proceeds to know Allah, is reduced to the knowing of “the oneness,” which proves the existence of the true one.”⁴⁷

“Know God in human reason” is a logical method that differs from those methods of knowing God as described above. For instance, “recognizing God from signs (in secular life)” still indicates a quality of intuition. Such an intuition involves rounds of rational debate and in thinking from “forms to principles,” “beginnings to endings” and “from the external to the internal.” Based upon this rational principle, Wang thus intuitively feels the first cause of all that has been created as the existence of Allah.

Through the mystic practices and self-cultivation of one’s heart, one can intuit God’s existence; and this is the general way to know God in Sufism. As Wang states, there are two different ways to know God: one is the higher level and the other is the lower level. The lower level that Wang refers to is through “encounters”; the higher is “fusion.” The higher level, unlike the lower, is a fusion between “me” and “God.” The distance created by humans and God before this infusion is called the separate horizons,⁴⁸ which proceeds to the highest level of complete fusion of human and God.⁴⁹

In distinguishing different levels of knowing God in a hierarchy, Wang names three different ways of knowing God, namely “knowledge,” “perspective duality” and finally, “infusion.”

“Knowledge” is the basic step that opens the doors to know God in terms of His creations through one’s rational faculty. It is an inductive process that embraces all things and creatures: Understanding *tawhid* through what one has sensed and observed.

Following “knowledge,” “perspective duality” means “recognizing God by recognizing oneself”; at this stage, “self” exists and is recognized, and thus this is a way of *tawhid* through dual perspective of both self and others.

45 Wang, 122.

46 The big and small worlds are one of the key thoughts of Ikhwan al-Safa’Wa Khullan al-Wafa.’ See: Boer, 80. Liu Zhi (劉智) sees the development of such thought; see his work: Liu Zhi, *Tianfang xingli* (天方性理) (Shanghai: Zhonghua shuju, 1928).

47 Wang, 238.

48 Boer, 56.

49 Ibid.

The highest stage of knowing God is fusion. It is the self-understanding whereby human and God become one, as both a phenomenological and ontological unity. In other words, “knowledge” is to intuit and understand God, the lowest stage of knowing. In the middle, “perspective duality” raised the level from a sensual intuition to a subjective evaluation to God’s love; thus the human concept of God is brought closer from a very distant human-universe to an I-thou relation in terms of phenomenology. In the highest level of knowing, the I-thou duality becomes one, the unity that one pursues with the highest worth. Hitti also gives a similar remark about this trilogy of knowing related to Sufism, “First, know Allah, love Him, and finally unite with Him.”⁵⁰

The above discourse on knowing God (Allah) has influenced the subsequent development of Chinese Islam, which, in relation to *tawhid* and religious practices, became “general practices,” “advanced practices” and “graduated practices.” These three types of “practices,” though influenced by Sufism, were shaped by the three ways Wang suggested of knowing Allah.

In terms of *tawhid*, theories are divided into two kinds: heavenly revelation and rationality. This division has long been heatedly debated. The al-Mutazilah School prefers rationality and derides heavenly revelation; it urges that humans should “use their rationality to know Allah,” but that the knowledge of heavenly revelation “outstrips rational knowledge of any kind.”⁵¹ On the contrary, Ashariah “believes in heavenly revelation, and denies rational thinking which becomes independent of the epistemology and methodology of knowing Allah.”⁵² In contrast, Ikhwan al-Safa Wa Khullan al-Wafa stands on middle ground in the controversy between heavenly revelation and rationality.⁵³ Later, al-Ghazali, who is known as a representative of Sufism and whose dogmatics have become central to Islam, advocated distrusting sensibility and simultaneously questioning rationality. He argues, “all the truths have been revealed in the Quran; and all the philosophical debates beyond the revelations of the Quran are considered redundant.”⁵⁴ Sufism is supposed to be a school of mysticism and intuitionism allowing for the ultimate understanding of God through God-human infusion. After al-Ghazali, Ibn Rusd (Averroes, 1126–1198 AD) proposed his dual properties of truth in both

50 Hitti, 516.

51 Boer, 42–46.

52 Ibid., 49.

53 Ibid., 81.

54 Bertrand Russell, *History of Western Philosophy (Xifang zhexue shi 西方哲學史)*, trans. He Zhaowu (何兆武) & Li Yue (李約瑟) (Hong Kong: The Commercial Press HK LTD, 1978).

religion and philosophy and indicated that truth's status in philosophy was higher than the former in an attempt to release philosophy from the shackles of religious orthodoxy. He invalidated "miracles" and "heavenly ordinations" by proofs of causation, and, he objected to al-Ghazali's mysticism, and argued that "without any dust of affection and pleasures, one gets the right medium that is truly evidential of the existence of God."⁵⁵ and "Allah can make use of reason, which is independent from revelation, as proof."⁵⁶

The thought of Averroes has since had great impact on the Western world and became part of later Christian scholasticism.

Wang Daiyu continues the movement of later treatises of Sufism, especially mysticism and intuitionism by al-Ghazali, by presenting more proofs that enhance and enrich the substance of Sufism.

For instance, he argues that in the process of creation, humans (as the created) and God (as the creator) cannot become one, with the exception that humans can know God as the creator. However, humans can unite with Allah through mystical intuition, though not through the senses or rationality. The facet of "self" in which a knower is conceived and comes to a union with God is not ordinarily known in common knowledge. Except in dreams, one cannot know God by seeing Him in the ordinary senses, not to mention coming to union as the further stage. In elaborating this special sense of knowing God, Wang distinguished between "an authentic self" and "an imaged self." "An authentic self" is an inborn attribute of oneself; in contrast, "an imaged self is constructed after one's birth, a specific facet of oneself after birth not affected by one's innateness. The mystic character of oneself, "the true gift" given by Allah, is "an authentic self."

"The proof of 'the true one' and 'the oneness' predicates on oneself as "the proven, authentic self," who is distinguished from 'the imaged self', an entity that is not 'the proven, authentic self.' Allah bestows 'the authentic self' on humans... [that] gives no sight or color as the original nature of Allah... The imaged self is not innate and is characterized by its rational faculty and vibrancy, a being sustaining itself by its functions of body and soul, working together in order to testify to the existence of Allah" (*Qingzhen daxue* 清真大學).⁵⁷ Wang henceforth makes his proofs more explicit: it is "self", which is the same as Allah that bears the testimony of Allah—this is "the authentic self", or "a priori self." "The authentic self" is "the innate self" bestowed by Allah who has given breath to the human; "the imaged self" is the specific,

55 Boer, 175, 190, 204.

56 See n. 40, *supra*.

57 Wang, 231.

sensory self that makes humans alive, but without being in union with Allah. "The imaged self" therefore only and partially testifies that Allah has created human; its existence only proves the existence of "the authentic self" in the act of Allah, and the existence of "the oneness." The problem has hitherto been made clear: to testify for Allah, or come to union with Him, is to unite oneself as "the authentic self" with Him, and the "true gift" is to be returned to Allah as the gift-giver. This stage of "sameness," "oneness" or "infusion" is, ontologically, disconnected from "the imaged self."

Thus, such mystic distinctions between "the authentic self" and "the imaged self," or the separation between souls and selfness in one's conception of God, are antithetical to science and are illusory. Such a thesis, as proposed by Wang Daiyu to fill in the identified loopholes of Islamic theology, thereby satisfies the needs of adherents to acquire religious knowledge. The thesis cleverly resolves a doubt of common sense: yes, only the "the authentic self" can intuitively realize Allah and assimilate into Allah.

An interesting phenomenon arises in the exploration of the history of world religions: the circulation of a world religion necessitates a modified and secularized philosophy as its foundation. There are, no doubt, deceptive elements in the discourse of man-made religions, but we cannot simply draw a conclusion that religions are deceptive, a dictum which Frederick Engels reminds us.⁵⁸ Religious idealism is neither independent of the history of human knowledge, nor is it a result of some external forces that have modeled the progress of human knowledge. In relation to the development of knowledge, "heavenly revelation" was challenged by "human rationality," and this is a very natural fact. Furthermore, "revelation" lacks a character of reality, and is also a façade that average-minded people hardly come to fathom. Because of this, ancient scholars necessarily used "rationality" to decorate religions just as modernist theologians use science to adorn religions. In the development of world religions, scholars' attempts to mediate between science and religious knowledge were common. For instance, the medieval philosopher and theologian Thomas Aquinas argues for "an authority" in regard to a deity that is not anti-rational, but super-rational.

Historically, it is a far-reaching change to ground rationality on theology as a basis of knowing God. This signifies that the situation in which the Quran was dominant and authoritative in any aspect of life changed, people's minds were liberated, and horizons broadened. The new ideological trend admitted that there was truth outside the Quran, which was an effective remedy for the rigid Islamic intellectual circle. Because of this "rational" movement in Islamic

58 Frederick Engels, "On the History of Early Christianity," *Die Neue Zeit* 1 (1894–1895): 4–13.

history, some commentators have remarked this “has made a huge step forward on the path of philosophical thinking.”⁵⁹ Throughout Islamic history, since rationality has permeated Islamic thought, it has been philosophized, spurring more scholars to research Islam, therefore legitimizing it as an orthodox doctrine. But religion is also non-rational and crisis-ridden: a further step from such rational development of religion should cast off its barriers, conducive to a collapse of existent theories about religion. Obviously, it would turn out to be a crisis that either “spirit destroys texts” or “texts destroy spirit.” Some pious followers, at this time, speak in defense of their religion and revive the principles of “heavenly revelation” against “rationality” in their campaigns. Tjitze J. de Boer has summarized this very well, “In terms of public acceptance, “human revelation” is more popular than “rationality.”⁶⁰ The so-called “restoration” is, at its surface value, a religious movement, but it is only meant to be a revisionist middle ground between “human revelation” and “rationality.” In the historical development of Islam, al-Ghazali was supposed to be the “middleman” in the debates of “human revelation” as opposed to “rationality” and played his important role in Islamic philosophy. His philosophical treatises later became classics that contributed to the resurgence of Islam.

Additionally, Sufi mysticism, and its intuitionism in particular, denies feelings, nor does it rely on rationalism to know Allah, or propose the direct, intuitive way to one’s heart as a path to attain the ultimate infusion between human and God. In this stage, as al-Ghazali argues, one can mirror Allah’s image on his or her soul.⁶¹ Some Sufi philosophers contend that such mirroring is effectively “the sixth sense,” which is projected as a medium in seeing Allah.⁶² It is commonly said that the principle doctrine of Sufism is the “infusion between God and Human,” but we argue that the above statement is not the key to knowing Allah. The essence of Sufism, we contend, is to by all means restrict its religious forces into a realm of personal, psychological affection that is indicative of love and intuition, and is the only way to know Allah. In making this thesis, Wang Daiyu indicates that understanding Allah’s existence is in the lower level; the higher level is approaching Allah, however, it involves one’s affection and intimate feelings towards Him. In regard to knowing Allah, whether through rationality or not, Boer here argues, “In order to rationalize religious principles, religious faiths and other demands to all believers are grounded in rationality. However, Sufism (the mystic sect), as an exception of rationality

59 Toshihiko, 44.

60 Boer, 42.

61 Ibid., 155.

62 Ibid., 43.

and religion, disregards evidence as the proof of Allah, but instead is inclined to methods of intuition, an experiential grasp of what the adherents believe.”⁶³ The French Islamic scholar Leon Marcel has made similar comments, “In fact, Sufism has enlarged the scope of Islamic knowledge originally reduced by the major doctrines. Nonetheless, Sufism has then clandestinely excluded theology, and only let Sufi adherents preserve their religion only in their hearts.”⁶⁴ The contemporary Japanese scholar, Toshihiko Izutsu expresses similar thoughts about Sufism, “The only healing to such a severe illness is to move the frozen, dried-up faith to the bedrock of one’s heart. The defrosted faith, restored and deepened in one’s heart, flows and moisturizes, and is regarded as a salient contribution by al-Ghazali.”⁶⁵ Sufism transposes the original Islamic doctrines into the affective bonds of daily morals. Based upon this Sufi practice, it is conceived that research on theology is not necessary. Al-Ghazali said that readers should insist on the meaning of the Quran exactly with their own interpretations,⁶⁶ like a patient following a prescription by a doctor.⁶⁷ Even so, Ibn Rusd insists that religion maintains “the secular ways of hearts and minds.”⁶⁸ In the 20th Century AD, the Islamic modernist, Muhammad Abduh, declared the same principle, namely, “religion is the ultimate bond of our will, the messenger of love.”⁶⁹

After the process of sublimation kicks off: the religious affection becomes an affective religion, shedding all ornaments of religious thoughtfulness and pretense. All cloaks of religious doctrines have been worn off, leaving the nudity of religion exposed: once the cloaks were religions for human; human is *homo reverendus*.

As discussed above, we have dealt with two problems in Wang Daiyu’s thoughts on religious philosophy. They are (1) the origin of cosmology; and (2) *tawhid*. In fact, these two questions are two sides of the same coin. As Wang elaborates,

63 Ibid., 181.

64 Masse, 175.

65 Toshihiko, 264.

66 Boer, 162.

67 Muhammad Abduh, *Islamic Philosophy (Huijiao zhexue 回教哲學)*, trans. Ma Jian (馬堅) (Shanghai: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1951), 223.

68 Boer, 192.

69 Muhammad Abduh, 160.

The Supreme Ultimate, created Heaven, from which it descended as the originator, so that nobody could testify to its origin. After that, men were nurtured and could ascend to Heaven as a consequence of such creation, as if a seed sprouted into a plant, which then bore fruit. If the fruit is reduced to the cause, then the seed is identified as the first cause. Though this causation occurs only once, it yields.⁷⁰

In other words, God creates humans, “from top to bottom”, this is “descending”, a process of creation; human beings recognize God, “from bottom to top”, this is “ascending”, a process of restoration. Through his knowledge of Allah, Wang therefore weights these two processes as the two sides of a balanced equation. These notions, however, when examined at present, carry both the traces and pitfalls of their times and require they be understood in the context of world history and the history of intellectual thought.

Wang regards the epistemology of God as “conceiving dwells after perceiving the objects,” “thinking after perceiving such objects” from “encounters of all contingencies” (phenomena). He takes an example that conditions epistemology in human perceptibility and objectivity:

Human perceptibility and knowing are like an imprisoned woman, pregnant, delivering a child in the dark. The child grows in the dark and never knows the light of sun and moon, the beauty of landscapes, the multifaceted human affairs, and the ornaments of all things. Instead he only perceives the large lamp as the sun, the small lamp as the moon, and only the beauty of the prison and the guards that are not comparable to the scenes outside the prison. Even so, the child cherishes his life here and has yet to take a step outside.⁷¹

Wang further argues that human knowledge is the effect of human perception of objective matters that have been conditioned by the environment, nothing wrong or right. With regard to this condition, Wang discusses such a knowing process as reflective of both similarities and differences of the human perceptions corresponding to a facet of the perceived objective reality, and such a process is not subjective but external. He then elaborates,

⁷⁰ Wang, 241.

⁷¹ Wang, 139.

[Perceptible knowing is] like a precious stamp being pressed on a sheet of paper, and the mark on the paper resembles the contacted area and shapes of the stamp. Using the mark to make another replica on another sheet is conceived as doubtful and absurd. Similarly, the wise men can understand heaven and earth and embrace knowledge about everything in the world—but they do not own everything physically . . . Water, silent and flat, reflects all things above the surface. Does this imply the water surface mirrors all these things in their true nature? Is this possible?⁷²

The above epistemological perspective, similar to the representational truth and the mirroring of nature as quoted above has a salient contribution to Wang's systematic discourse on epistemology. And yet, his formulation of such perceptual epistemology is not so as simple as seeing things in the watery mirror in a pond, otherwise it would be superficial in light of present-day scientific inquiries. Nor is it scientific to say that human movement and reactions are analogical to simple chemical reactions. Historical materialism premises a dialectical epistemology that "Matter is . . . the objective reality given to man in his sensations, a reality which is copied, photographed, and reflected by our sensations."⁷³ This does not mean that human knowledge projects a mechanism that is similar to running images in a film, knowledge is in the form of a retrievable medium in human brains. Actually acquiring both rational and affective knowledge requires a knower to abstract, infer and judge what the knower has acquired from the senses. Knowledge as such, as a retrievable and stored form, is only an abstraction, not any accumulation of images.

In Wang's view, the epistemology is divided into two stages. He classifies affection into three types, namely beastliness, humanity and truthfulness (to Allah); he also classifies three types of human characteristics, namely vitality, sensibility, and spirituality. He said,

Most beasts act according to their inherent senses, and they stop action when no more sensations register in their brains. Humans demonstrate their spirituality by distinguishing truth from falsehood when seeing things and events, and appreciating their presence and magnificence with joy and delight. What has not been seen is treated as unknown, or the knower reckons the possibility of their resemblances to certain known things and events being intuited in his or her mind.⁷⁴

72 Wang, 47.

73 Vladimir I. Lenin, *Materialism and Empirio-Criticism* (New York: International Publishers, 1927), 102.

74 Wang, 60.

What is referred to by “spirituality” here is equivalent to our senses of things; “spirituality” takes a step further to a sublimation of “sensibility” by having a firm grasp of the essences of things and events (embracing these with a feeling of their presence and magnificence), a path to knowledge that resembles rational knowledge. Unseen and unknown things, Wang indicates, need the inference of our knowledge in our memories being retrieved and “intuited purely” in the subject of a knower. Wang furthers his epistemological position by indicating that affective knowledge is of lower rank; rational knowledge is of higher rank; affective knowing is guided by rationality. Here Wang adds: “Through the human sensoria of one’s body, a person is able to hear and see with his or her amazing faculties, but his or her senses are useless unless they are organized by the heart (and the mind). These human senses, if not organized, are not expected to take concerted action within the eyes, the ears, the nose, the tongue and the whole body, as a result of a paralyzed, uncontrolled state.”

Rationality, thus, is a more advanced state than affective knowledge, and Wang goes on to say, “Therefore discerning things by observing them without rational judgments may produce disparities between what has been observed and what appears ‘as is’; observing them with a knower’s rational judgments would mend these disparities.”⁷⁵ Affective knowledge is “knowing things only at their surfaces,” but rational knowledge, achieved after a knower’s intuition and judgments, would make a firm grasp of the essence of the known, distinct from the unknown. Wang further asserts that our humanity “includes both ‘vitality’ and ‘sensibility’ that nurtures a person and gives his or her sensoria and faculty of reason.” In regard to the notion of humanity Wang has depicted, how does a person “infer what he or she has observed and reasoned?” Responding to this question, Wang gives an idealistic answer: rational knowledge is anchored in two aspects: affective experiences and the innate gift of human faculties.

Wang here gives a metaphor, “A child in his mother’s womb never thinks of the face of father, because he has not felt affection for his father yet. Those who haven’t been seen before have no figure or shape in the child’s mind.” In other words, knowing a person or a thing is achieved through sight, after which somebody has been spotted and its shape and figuration is conceived by a knower; conception of things processed by our rationality is all but an affective knowledge of our senses.

“Understanding oneself through one’s principled learning (or the revelation of the heart), if not relying on bodily senses, requires use of one’s inborn character as a source of “innate force” that propels one to know, spiritually

75 Wang, 109.

(without an objective medium through seeing and hearing things).” “As the knower ascends to (the originator of the universe) through his or her spiritual level of learning, and the originator, once revealed by the heart, makes Heaven and the Earth, then gives birth to *Taiji*, that triggers the subsequent creation of all creature and things.” This statement implies that Heaven, the creator, bestows rational knowing on humans. Wang then goes on to argue that “sensibility” and “spirituality” refer to two aspects of the same thing. Spirituality here directly means “the gift of Allah” and is carried by a person’s “revelation of heart”, which determines the person’s awareness of everything. Thus, the intersection between “the gift of Allah” and “affective knowledge” triggers a person’s true faculty of acquiring rational knowledge. Certainly, the gleam of light, as the gift of Allah, has such vital importance. Theorists believing in the dialectics of historical materialism point out that such a formation of rationalization in human knowledge takes the use of affect (sensibility) accumulated in one’s experience and, more importantly, human acts are guided by such rationality as preconceived by human thoughts. The dialecticians, however, in contrast to Wang Daiyu, indicate that the origin of knowledge lies in the material world, whereas Wang points to Allah as the origin instead.

All in all, owing to Wang’s worldview that is akin to pantheism, he inevitably falls into the pitfalls of *a priori*, axiomatic knowledge. By the same token, Wang proposes his pantheism in his worldview by using the same line of argument.

Wang ranks people in a hierarchy of saints, the wise, and the mediocre, from top to bottom. Saints, the *crème de la crème*, have the capabilities of the prophets; the wise, possess knowing from their innateness; the mediocre, only learn after their birth without knowing innately. Based upon the pre-given human conscience and talent, rationality is separated, conceptually, from affective (sensory) knowledge. With this separation, Wang proposes that commoners only rely upon what they perceive by their senses, but the wise learn from their hearts along with rational judgments of what they have perceived and then abstracted into principles. The rational faculty employed in their learning is of course the gift of Allah, that is, *a priori*, a pre-given faculty of knowing without any perception of the external world beforehand. Wang thinks that the wise should teach the mediocre; the mediocre should accept the teachings from the wise. Such teachings show the similarities between Islam and Christianity. Notwithstanding the wise and the mediocre, men (and women) are created equal by Allah.

With regard to epistemology, Wang definitely takes it as a teleology of know Allah, and never gets out of the constraints of religion as the ultimate ends

of knowing.⁷⁶ He said, “If one does know himself, then one never knows his origin; without knowing his origin; he never becomes as wise as a saint; never becoming a saint, he is never qualified to serve Allah.”—*sizhen* 似真—In other words, “exhausting human knowledge about nature and one’s heart, and finally knowing what Heaven has ordained—this is what I call ‘true knowledge’” and “one should follow the rules that I have set out to exhaust what one knows about his heart and his relation to Heaven.” In contrast with other Confucians expressing this principle indirectly,⁷⁷ Wang clearly and directly put it in into words with one sole purpose—to know the world at heart is to know Allah.

In terms of pedagogy, Wang makes learning, which encompasses one’s actions, one’s work, and setting a moral example, his priority. Men and women learn through their lifespan, without ceasing. Wang divides such lifelong learning into three stages, namely (*daxue* 大學), (*zhongxue* 中學) and (*changxue* 常學). *Daxue* is the way to “know and approach God”; *zhongxue*, “understanding and revealing your heart”; *changxue*, “disciplining thyself and ruling the country.” The difference between Wang’s pedagogy and his Neo-Confucian predecessors’ is the degrading of “disciplining thyself and ruling the country” to secondary importance, which Neo-Confucians takes as a prime task of self-learning to ultimately “serving the imperial court,” regardless of any ultimate ends of religious life.

In relation to the system of knowing and practicing, Neo-Confucians devote much of their energy to discussing and debating this duality. Wang Yangming, a contemporary of Wang Daiyu, deliberated on the relation between knowledge and practices in the climax of his career.⁷⁸ Wang Daiyu simply touches upon this duality, albeit with his unique perspective in understanding it. He says, “Saints often say that those men and women believing in the true religion (not heresy) should know and understand what they ought to do. Those who have no masters to follow should practice, and not be separated from what they have learned. Learning without practicing is a blossom not bearing fruit;

76 Al-Ghazali advocates learning aims at serving Allah as the first principle, and not for any secular purposes. See: Khalil Totah, *Contributions of the Arabs to Education* (*Huijiao jiaoyushi* 回教教育史), trans. Ma Jian (馬堅) (Changsha: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1946).

77 Wang Daiyu, A True Explanation of the Right Religion-The Great Learning of Islam-Rare and True Answers (Zhengjiao Zhenquan-Qingzhen *daxue*-Xizhen zhengda 正教真詮・清真大學・希真正答) (Lanzhou: Ningxia renmin chubanshe, 1988), 58–61.

78 Ren Jiyu, *History of Chinese Philosophy* (*Zhongguo zhhexueshi* 中國哲學史) (Beijing: People’s Press: 2003).

practicing without learning is like a house without doors.” Does “learning without practicing” refer to practices that are verifiable to theories in learning, or does “practicing without learning” mean practices such as a blindfolded execution that leads nowhere? Wang despises those complacent, wayward scholars without any principles, like mosquitoes and flies. Wang asserts, “the true value of knowledge is validating practices in a continuous and correct way,” but not for the current social atmosphere in which those wayward scholars feel complacent.

Daxue, as coined by Wang Daiyu, is the way to the “true knowledge, and unification with Allah.” Practices, in regard to Wang’s dogmatics, refer to the five tenets that reveal one’s inner life as a calling of one’s morality, “and the saints remind a Muslim of moral practices, and reveal the latter’s moral inclinations to Allah, something to be considered by Muslims constantly.” Among the five tenets, recitation (or *Shahadah*), in this respect, is the most important.

Concepts, the roots and stem of all human deeds, initiate all events and happenings that follow. One’s earnestness and will, based upon such concepts and practices that follow to do a thing, can overcome all difficulties like drilling and shattering hard matter like gold and rocks. Such earnestness and will are of the greatest worth, constant across time and space, and should be cherished.

In regard to the connection between theories and practices, the five tenets of religious practices are equivalent to theories coming to realization, and in their conceptual form, are the roots and stems of all human practices. With a few steps of argumentation, practice shifts, wholly or partially, from an objective to a subjective status. Then practice becomes a concept in mind, wholly or partially. The shift appearing in Wang Daiyu’s thoughts is akin to what Wang Yangming advocates as “exhausting practices in knowing by reducing them in concepts.” Wang Yangming takes this epistemological formula in progress, namely, learning, practice, and concepts, in a looped sequence of subjectivity, objectivity, then returns to subjectivity again. In the above schema formulated by Wang Daiyu, he summarizes his theory of the link between theory and practice. Once again, based upon Wang Daiyu’s idealism and religious-centered theory of world creation, he brings learning (or theory) and practice into perfect unity.

Impacts of Liu Zhi's Religious Ideas Upon the Sect of the Western Teaching Hall

Gao Zhanfu

Abstract

Living in Nanjing as a Muslim intellectual during the time of the Kangxi Emperor (Qing Dynasty), Liu Zhi (劉智) devoted his lifelong efforts to spreading Islamic culture. His prolific translations and writings on Islamic classics exerted an influence in China, to which no other scholarly works of the same period are comparable. The Islamic sect Xi Dao Tang (西道堂), or Western Teaching Hall, treated Liu Zhi as a central figure of its teachings and gained a paramount status unmatched by other Islamic factions. The thoughts of Liu Zhi, in his prolific writings, include a wide range of topics, from the existence of Allah to the creation of the universe, to more mundane things such as the daily acts and common speech of Muslims. But the interconnection between Liu Zhi and Xi Dao Tang is more complex than what has been described, and thus worth investigating. In a nutshell, the influences Liu Zhi's writing and thought had on Xi Dao Tang are found in their Jiaocheng (教乘, vehicle of teaching, *shariah*) and Daocheng (道乘, vehicle of the way or pathway, *tariqah*), with an emphasis on the former.

Keywords

Liu Zhu – Xi Dao Tang – Religious Thought

In the late Qing and the Republic Era (1911–1949 AD), the Islamic faction, Xi Dao Tang, emerged in Xifeng Mountain (*Xifeng shan* 西風山), Lintan Jiucheng (臨潭舊城) in Gansu, and caught more public attention than had ever occurred

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before in Chinese Islamic history. Xi Dao Tang, with its growing publicity, was based upon two foundations: (1) the writings and thoughts of Liu Zhi distinguished it from other Islamic factions that were influenced by Islamic thought outside China. The founder was a Chinese literati, who was in an unique situation compared to other Chinese Islamic factions; and (2) the special organizing practices different from other factions “guided adherents in bonds of love, cherished prime values of absolute equality, abolished private property, and set up a commune with similar beliefs and lifestyles,”¹ as “a new social model.” As we shall see, Liu Zhi’s writings and thoughts, in general, have the following terms and references in influencing the thought of Xi Dao Tang.

In regard to Liu Zhi, his interconnection with, and influences on, Xi Dao Tang in terms of Islamic thought were never recorded. Even the founder of Xi Dao Tang, Ma Qixi (馬啟西), never said a word about this during his life. The descendants only learned of this in 1942, when Ma Mingren (馬明仁), the third descendant of Xi Dao Tang after Ma Qixi, wrote in the magazine *Islamic Youth* (*Huijiao qingnian* 回教青年), “This teaching hall (*daotang* 道堂) follows Islamic doctrines and the inherited teachings of Liu Zhi, [and] it is incumbent on the Imams who preach the principles of the truth in Islam to be thoroughly understood by Muslims of the same nationhood.” Ma Qixi said about the knowledge gained from Liu Zhi, “Liu Zhi planted the seeds, Ma Zhu (馬注) has grown the blossoms and I (Ma Qixi) reap the fruit.” This saying was passed down to different adherents but was not considered concrete evidence showing the influence of Liu Zhi on Xi Dao Tang. Despite the lack of written evidence in historical documents about the lineage between Liu Zhi and Xi Dao Tang, the influence of thoughts of Liu Zhi in the guidance of core religious thoughts in Xi Dao Tang are, objectively and doubtlessly, undisputable. Other evidence, such as the obituary couplets of Ma Qixi, not only shows that his religious lineage descended from Liu Zhi, but also that the reverence for Liu Zhi in Xi Dao Tang’s teachings since its establishment is incomparable to other Islamic factions in China. Therefore, to understand such influences on Xi Dao Tang, the evidence is then supplemented and constructed from the epitaphs and writings of Ma Qixi, written documents about Xi Dao Tang’s religious content, and posthumous research on Liu’s life, all of which we rely upon to publish this chapter.

1 *Witnesses and Records of Gansu-Qinghai* (*Ganqing Wenjianji* 甘青聞見記) (Lanzhou: Gansu renmin chubanshe, 1988), 204.

1

Living in Nanjing as a Muslim during the reign of the Qing Dynasty's Kangxi Emperor, Liu Zhi devoted his lifelong effort to the dissemination of Islamic culture. His prolific translations and writings on Islamic classics influenced China, in a way that contemporary scholarly works could not match. Not merely were his strong views on Sufi philosophy found in his work, *Tianfang Xingli* (天方性理), which focuses upon Islamic cosmology, but he also combined Islamic doctrines with the specific Chinese context of his times, especially writing about the ethics of Islam in *The Rites of Islam* (*Tianfang Dianli* 天方典禮), plus a chronicle of Muhammad and his descendants in his magnum opus, *The Real Record of the Last Prophet of Islam* (*Tianfang Zhisheng Shilu*, 天方至聖實錄), all of which were compiled and edited into several hundred scrolls (around more than a hundred in the present-day printing). The kernel of Liu's writings was to promulgate Confucianism while putting a prime emphasis on Islam with Chinese characteristics. Both to the Han Chinese literati and the general populace, his writings exerted considerable influence. His major writings, were honorably prefaced by some eminent scholars of his times, and dubbed as a major *Han Kitab* (*Hanjing* 漢經), sometimes called the Sino-Muslim canon. Generally speaking, no one else gained the same prestige as Liu in the Ming and Qing Dynasties.

According to the historical changes of Islam after its introduction into China, Liu noticed the situation of his times and opted for a common medium—Chinese—as a major means to promulgate Islam, which was imbued with key thoughts found in Confucianism without altering or losing the core elements of Islam. Such adoption of Confucian discourse without doubt fostered the promulgation of Islam in China. At the beginning, Liu's writings were circulated among the Chinese literati in the southern part of China, then were in high demand as reprints and were extended to nationwide circulation. However, Liu's writings did not reach northwestern Muslims till late in the Qing, partly because Islamic education was dominated by *madrasah* education (*jingtang jiaoyu* 經堂教育), instead of Han influences in the region. The permeation of Liu's thoughts in the northwest became well known and widely accepted in the late Qing, examples as such were the inscriptions of his writing, *Wugeng yueji* (五更月偈) and others, which were hung on the walls of Muslim households. Liu was popularly called "Liu Baba," indicating his paramount influence in the Northwest. Nonetheless, it is surprising that Lintan (臨潭) in Gansu, is where there emerged a newly fledged Islamic sect, Xi Dao Tang, thousands of miles from Nanjing where Liu Zhi lived.

In spite of the geographical location of Xi Dao Tang, the Confucian exegesis of Islam in Liu's writings has its particular historical significance.

Lintan, where Xi Dao Tang was located, was a geopolitically strategic hub city at the bottleneck of the Hexi Corridor that held effective control of the barbarous tributary states.² Since the Ming Dynasty, the inhabitants had settled there with a "mixed populace, ingenious and infidel"³ whose activities concentrated on trade. Despite its remoteness from central region of China, Lintan is adjacent to Tibet, and became prosperous due to its proximity. Through Lintan, Muslim tradesmen travelled to central China and the southern areas of the Yangtze River (Chang Jiang 長江), and communication from Muslims in central China could be circulated to Lintan speedily.

Therefore, it can be fully understood how Liu's thoughts and writings could influence Muslims in Lintan.

The Muslim ancestors of Lintan were the followers of the Muslim General Muying (沐英) of the early Ming dynasty when he attempted to pacify Tibet from Nanjing, as well as military staff from various southern Chinese origins. They were highly educated and retained strong memories of their homeland. Even so, the present-day Muslims say their ancestors came from Zhushi Lane (竹絲巷) in Nanjing. That is why Liu's thoughts and writings, despite the long period of centuries, could be passed around the Muslim communities in Lintan.

In terms of religion and faith, these ancestors settled and formed clusters of residence where they believed in the school of *Qadim* (Gedimu 格底木, meaning old, ancient traditions) with a loose organizing structure. After the Ming dynasty, they received more Islamic *menhuan* (sects or groups) (門宦) from the Arabian Peninsula but they generally did not believe in any single Islamic sect. For this reason, Liu's thoughts and writings were marketable in the context of the multiplicity of Islamic doctrines that contested with each other. This allowed his teachings to take root in Lintan. Unlike the neighboring Hezhou (河州) where *madrasah* education came to fruition and granted immunity to the influence of non-Islamic religions, Lintan was a religious "carnival" for various *menhuan* in converting their adherents. The teaching of Islamic doctrine in Lintan started earlier than other places in the Northwest. In the Fifty-fifth Year of Qianlong (1790 AD), "there was founded [in Lintan] a school of Islamic doctrine that served, as its primary purpose, to nurture a team of scholarly talent that erected a credible doctrine for long-term preaching to the general

2 Bao Yongchang (包永昌), *Records of Gannan Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture (Taozhou tingzhi 洮州廳志)* (Lanzhou: Lanzhou guji shudian, 1990).

3 Ibid.

public.”⁴ Thus, the extent that Lintan Muslims learned about Chinese culture was more than that to which the Muslims in other neighboring areas were exposed. The Muslims in Lintan, in contrast to other places in the northwest, were less resistant to Muslim education that included *Han Kitab*. In regard to the popular circulation of *Han Kitab* in Lintan, Liu's writings, no doubt, were most important.

Meanwhile, Ma Qixi, the founder of Xi Dao Tang, was born to a pious Muslim family descended from literati clans. Ma, owing to his family background, received an Islamic education at an early age. At eleven, he became a disciple of a well-known Confucian master named Fan Shengwu (范繩武), reading Confucian classics and thus making a significant advancement of his career. He went to the provincial examination in Taozhou (洮州) and achieved second place. Then, in the prefectural examination in Gongchang (鞏昌), he ranked fourth. It was a rare and surprising accomplishment for a talented lad from a remote place to achieve such an outstanding performance in imperial examinations and to be recognized for his mastery of Chinese and Confucian classics. After that, Ma did not follow what most successors of imperial examinations would do, obtaining imperial officialdom, but instead read an exhaustive list of Chinese classics that were not restricted to those assigned by the imperial authorities for examinations. As a result, he became well versed in all categories of Chinese classics and devoted his effort to the *Han Kitab* translations of Islamic texts. His particular attention was given to the works of Liu Zhi, and he thought meticulously and read carefully, day and night, extracting the traditions of preceding Confucians and integrating them into general principles of Islam. Subsequently, his learning made significant breakthroughs,⁵ especially his study of the works of Liu Zhi. Unlike founders of other *menhuan* who were imams, he was a scholar who had passed the Qing imperial examinations (*xiu cai* 秀才), professing both Islamic and Confucian learning. What is more, Ma Qixi never traveled to Arab countries to learn about Islam, nor did he inherit any pre-existing school of Islamic thought. Instead, he garnered and integrated the ideas of Islam from direct and indirect sources of the *Han Kitab* from other scholars in the Ming and Qing Dynasties, particularly the essence

4 Lintan Xianzhi Bianzuan Weiyuanhui (臨潭縣誌編纂委員會), ed., *Records of Lintan* (*Lintan xianzhi* 臨潭縣誌) (Lanzhou: Gansu minzu chubanshe, 1997), roll 4.

5 Qinghai Minzu Xueyuan Minzu Yanjiusuo (青海民族學院民族研究所) & Xibei Minzu Xueyuan Minzu Yanjiusuo (西北民族學院民族研究所), ed., “Martyrdom History of developing Xi Dao Tang by Mr. Ma Qixi (*Ma Qixi xiansheng chuangjiao xunlan shi* 馬啟西先生創教殉難史),” In *Historical Collections of Xi Dao Tang* (*Xidaotang shiliaoji* 西道堂史料集) (N.p: n.p., 1978).

of Liu Zhi's thoughts, upon which he established his mosque (*daotang* 道堂) in a Chinese medium.

2

Jiaocheng (教乘, vehicle of teaching, *shariah*) (referring to the five pillars, that is, recitation of *Shahadah*, *Salat*, *Sawm*, *Zakat* and *Haji*) are the pillars of Xi Dao Tang, and have guided the principles of the religious life of adherents. This is associated with Ma Qixi's complete adoption of Liu Zhi's thoughts in relation to the five pillars which offers a tripartite, systematic explication on obligations, meanings, and effects in theory and practices. In terms of pedagogy, Ma, taking Liu's explication of the five pillars, further interprets these tenets as the basis of Xi Dao Tang. The thought of Jiaocheng (教乘) was recorded in Liu Zhi's *Explanations and Meanings of Five Tenets* (*Wugong xiyi* 五功釋義) and the posthumous couplets related to the life of Ma Qixi. Through the contrast between Liu's works and writings related to Ma, we can see not only the influences of Liu's thoughts on Ma's writings, but also a factual, documentary account of Liu's thoughts in relation to Xi Dao Tang. Discussing reciting, Liu Zhi conceived the primary practices of the tenets as

... reciting *Shahadah*, as a reminder for ourselves as to our origin, upon which our lives and bodies rely and whose nature we follow, the basic nature of creation and its creatures. This nature, which is good, true and pure, purifies our mind and stands as truth against our evil, impure and reckless thoughts. Thinking without evil, impurity, and recklessness paves the true way to return to our origin.⁶

Here, Liu understands *Shahadah* as a defining element of Muslims by which they acknowledge the origin of Islamic faith. Ma took this as primary in importance and required every Muslim to do the following, "as an adherent, one should be reverent to Allah, practicing everyday like Allah is present, and reciting prudently, not murmuring but recalling word by word in your heart."⁷ A key aspect was reciting the Quran and other Holy Scripts not only as words, but also taking them to heart, otherwise recitation would only be a formalism that

6 Liu Zhi (劉智), *Explanations and Meanings of Five Tenets* (*Wugong Xiyi* 五功釋義) (Hefei: Huangshan shushe, 2005).

7 *Last Couplets by Mr. Ma Qixi* (*Zhongguo Yisilanjiao Xidaotang jiaopai Ma Qixi xiansheng yilian* 中國伊斯蘭教西道堂教派馬啟西先生遺聯) (Lintan: Xi Tao Tang, n.d.).

was completely wasteful of one's faith in Allah. Amongst all activities of Xi Dao Tang, all attendants begin by reciting the Quranic texts.

Praying five times a day, as Liu Zhi instructed, is strictly required by the Quran. Liu explains the meaning of *Salāt*, "praying, is a ladder by which Muslims can approach Allah, a path by which Muslims can go back to the origin." The requirements are:

To pray is to be present here and now, no external worries, no distractions, no heads up, no kicking legs, no speaking allowed; those who infringe any one of these are required to correct their behavior. The saints always say that God knows you without you seeing God.

Liu added, "Prostrate with reverence and devotion, without either or both, the prostrations are not true at all."⁸ His message is crystal clear: dispel other thoughts and one's mind becomes only concentrated on Allah; worship is not merely gestural formalism, otherwise it risks being sunk into worthlessness. Ma retranslated Liu's instructions in plain words, "enter the gate and the hall, do not pray in a daze. If, instead, you mean these things that are worthy in your heart, follow the details thoroughly and you thus cleanse your worries and purify your heart." He also said, "Practice the five pillars, knowing Allah with no sound and no scent." As we have seen, Liu and Ma share some common understanding of the five tenets, thought they both made reference to their differences in the times and places they lived, and expressed their different views and their backgrounds based upon differing requirements and perspectives.

With regard to Ramadan, Liu expressed that "the annual fast lasts for a whole month, (all men and women) are only allowed to eat before sunrise and after sunset. In the daytime, they are prohibited from eating and drinking, from sexual intercourse, from dealing with any kind of business and from having any distracting thought."⁹ Liu here distinguished Ramadan from other, ordinary, fasts,

One practicing fasting without pure austerity and mindful awareness of desire does not really practice a fast, in the strictest sense; refraining from gourmet foods and lust is only a second-rated practice; self-restraint in one's heart through self-scrutiny is the best of all fasting practices. Therefore, it is correctly said that fasting can be practiced by all means removing all lusts and the lures of nature, thus dismantling the force of

⁸ See n. 6, *supra*.

⁹ Liu, chapter 14.

one's self-ego without one thing [found] in one's heart. Exhausting self-restraints to a stage of one's ego is the ultimate ends of fasting.¹⁰

Understanding fasting, Ma described it as "purification of one's heart," and "the meaning of fasting is a mindfulness exercise of self-restraint in mind and body, restraining oneself from the seven senses in strict self-discipline." Liu Zhi, alternatively emphasized fasting not only as endurance of an empty stomach, but also to keep one's self-discipline "by not letting even a thing in one's heart."

Muslims are obligated to practice *Zakat*, or charitable giving. Liu Zhi considered *Zakat* as "such offerings are collected for Allah at His deposition using it for helping the poor; and using this endowment is a graceful act of Allah."¹¹ Liu further highlighted the particular value of "the use of *Zakat* by Allah" and indicates that "humans to a larger extent pursue their self-interest, and never do altruistic acts. The act of endowment is to fulfill all four required deeds."¹² Associated with benevolence in Confucian teaching, *Zakat* augurs Allah and His benevolence, religiously and secularly, and Liu aptly preached the essence of Allah and benevolence, dressed in a Confucian outlook, from a different angle. The obituary couplet about Ma Qixi's life does not depict *Zakat* in any specific terms, but Xi Dao Tang taught its adherent in daily life practice, particularly paying much attention to, an offering of each adherent after the end of Ramadan to the *Zakat* of Xi Dao Tang for the poor and passers-by in squalors who were in dire need. From this perspective of philanthropy, Liu and Xi Dao Tang share the basic understanding.

A Muslim is required by Islam to go Mecca for at least one pilgrimage. Liu said about pilgrimage (*Hajj*), "A pilgrim must offer all of his property and belongings, his deeds and devotion to Allah, to Mecca and back to his home,"¹³ and remarked, "A *hajj*, is a conclusive act of five tenets practiced by a Muslim for his devotion to Allah, [and leads] to a stage of a unity between Man and Heaven (God)."¹⁴ Liu saw *hajj* as being of conclusive, highest, importance among the five pillars. However, Ma twice attempted a journey to Mecca during his lifetime. The first attempt started in the fourth Lunar month of the Thirty-First Year of Guangxu (1905 AD). When passing over Lianhua Shan (蓮花山) he knew that bandits would attack, so he returned to Lintan. He began his second trip in the sixth Lunar month of the same year, accompanied by a few

¹⁰ Liu, chapter 14.

¹¹ See n. 6, *supra*.

¹² See n. 6, *supra*.

¹³ See n. 6, *supra*.

¹⁴ See n. 6, *supra*.

others and traveling the Silk Road, but the party got stuck in Samarkand due to a war and though they stayed there for more than one year, they unfortunately needed to return to Lintan in the last Lunar month in the Thirty-Third Year of Guangxu (1907 AD). Despite his failure to complete the *hajj*, he still considered *hajj* as having primary importance to the Islamic faith. After that, until 1949, the descending leaders of Xi Dao Tang never made it to Mecca, but after 1980, the disciples and leaders of Xi Dao Tang completed the *hajj* to Mecca. It is mentioned in some papers that Xi Dao Tang thought the *hajj* cost too much and preferred instead prostrating, remembering saints, doing good and devotion to Allah at heart. Such a view of *hajj* is not accurate, primarily because *hajj* is one of the five tenets as laid down by Muhammad and no other authority can alter or re-interpret this requirement, and Xi Dao Tang, of course, is no exception.

Shahadah, Salat, Sawm, Zakat and Hajj are the fundamentals of Jiaocheng (教乘, vehicle of teaching), Liu offered the most extensive explications on them in his book, *Explanations and Meanings of Five Tenets*, so it can be said that the book is a more systematic account of Jiaocheng. Before the founding of Xi Dao Tang, Ma Qixi intensively studied in detail the translations of *Han Kitab* circulating in the Ming and Qing Dynasties, and recommended the works of Liu Zhi, especially his views on and instructions of Jiaocheng. Ma said,

The Five Pillars are the only open gate to morals allowing one to reach the heavenly horizon and know the universe, including the essence of all creatures, in every detail. Self-interest, conversely, blocks one's proclivity from knowing all of creation, like streams passing through reservoirs straight to the sea. In order to know this universe successfully, nurturing and disciplining one's mind and body is the only way to succeed.¹⁵

Because of this principle of knowing, Ma Qixi considered the tenets as a moral exemplar, a religious basis of Xi Dao Tang, and this principle was inscribed in the [posthumous] couplets describing his life. After Ma, his descendants held and followed the learning of Jiaocheng in relation to Liu Zhi's thoughts about religious practices. In regard to such inheritance, the thought of Xi Dao Tang believed that, "Jiaocheng is our language in which the five pillars and everything that we can see by eyes are exemplified."¹⁶ In order to further promote

15 See n. 6, *supra*.

16 Qinghai Minzu Xueyuan Minzu Yanjiusuo (青海民族學院民族研究所) & Xibei Minzu Xueyuan Minzu Yanjiusuo (西北民族學院民族研究所), ed., *Historical Collections of Xi Dao Tang (Xidaotang shiliaoji 西道堂史料集)* (N.p.: n.p., 1978), 110.

Liu Zhi's thought, Xi Dao Tang, in commemorating Liu in April, 1948, published a new version of his book, *Explanations and Meanings of Five Tenets*, with a preface by Min Zhidao (敏志道), the fourth descendant of Xi Dao Tang after Ma. The preface stated,

Our saintly master Liu Zhi's *Explanations and Meanings of Five Tenets*, which started by introducing the foundation then supplemented it with in-depth and meticulous details. The book is an excellent text for those who follow true Islamic religious practices, a ladder to climb up and build up one's wisdom to unite with God. More importantly, this is a rare book not emphasizing the difficulties in finding the correct ways of Jiaocheng, that one should keep practicing as required by Muhammad with absolute submission to his or her will and determination, there is no repenting or retreating. It is a life achievement as only a few, like Master Liu, keep their faith and devote their lives to such practices as paving the way to Allah. Liu's experiences and path to Allah were all recorded in this book, and reached a horizon of heavenly being by formulating his method of finding God. The aim of this book is to reveal this to his descendants who are determined to know the truth and ways to Allah . . . But only a few in our mosque know this very well, and are able to overcome all difficulties in knowing and keeping the faith in practicing, in order to know Allah.¹⁷

The preface here declares the central importance of Liu Zhi as a compass of the spiritual ways of faith in knowing Allah, therefore his thoughts concerning Jiaocheng having a paramount, irreplaceable status in Xi Dao Tang, even today.

3

With regard to Daocheng (道乘, vehicle of the way or pathway, *tariqah*), including Zhencheng (真乘, vehicle of truth or the vehicle of Allah, *haqiqah*), is supposedly the central piece of Liu Zhi's Islamic thoughts, albeit with a disproportional representation with these of other ideas in his writings. In his book, *Tianfang xingli* (天方性理), he wrote a significant number of chapters and explicated a Muslim's religious aim at finding the gleam of Allah's light in Sancheng (三乘, three vehicles), namely their Jiaocheng (教乘), Daocheng (道乘), and Zhencheng (真乘) and pointed out that,

¹⁷ See n. 6, *supra*.

as one reaches a level of consciousness that is communion with God, with the oneness—the fore knowledge before his birth, the origin of creation and the bedrock of lives, all coming together and summarized in this sentence, in the witness of the Truth.¹⁸

In other places, Liu expressed the ways to Allah more succinctly, “practicing Sancheng (三乘, three vehicles: Jiaocheng (教乘), Daocheng (道乘), and Zhencheng (真乘)), and the five pillars, and having a full grasp of the texts of four legal schools in Islam, then one becomes a true Muslim,” who has reached the highest stage of “back to the heavenly state, no senses, no images, no sounds and no scents in absolute loneliness. That is a horizon like a pure curtain torn apart, a mass of jade being smashed, a senseless state of no sunrise and sunset, no cause and consequence, and a person retreating in his loneliness of self-pleasures.”¹⁹ Ma Qixi alternatively explained Daocheng vividly,

For the sake of oneself in the sea of nature and in the root of his soul, one knows the difference between being and nothingness for his magnificent use; one knows nothingness, seeking and naming it as the originator, or the first order, which reveals the secret of the universe.

And,

Exhausting the knowing of the configurations of all things is to trace back their force that transforms; the highest form of knowledge is knowing one's nothingness, the empty self requires returning oneself to the Truth, Allah as the void and the creator. Such knowledge grants the knower first class [status].

When instructing practitioners of Daocheng, Ma stressed that their minds should be “as pure as white without dust,” and they should “detach all senses from all things.” Ma Qixi, spent almost a decade practicing Daocheng, in a cave of Miaoshan (廟山) in Lintan. This was recorded in the history of Xi Dao Tang, thus, “In the Fifteenth Year of Guangxu, our founder Ma gave up all secular things and events, was silent and speechless and meditated on the ways of Allah after which he finally acquired the Truth of Him, the highest rank of

18 Mu Zaihan (穆在涵), *Annotated Explanations to Tianfang xingli (Xingli benjin zhuyi 性理本經注釋)* (Yinchuan: Ningxia renmin chubanshe, 2008).

19 Liu Zhi, *The Crescent at the Dawn (Wugeng yueji 五更月偈)* (Yinchuan: Ningxia renmin chubanshe, 2008).

Muslims.”²⁰ The successor of Ma, Ding Chuangong (丁全功), when appealing in Beijing against injustices done to Xi Dao Tang, gave his witness account, “Notwithstanding his arrest by the government, he always thinks and practices the five pillars, reciting piously and fasting as required by Muhammad . . . seeking ultimate perfection and beauty in his extreme suffering.”²¹ The third descendant of Xi Dao Tang, Ma Mingren, appealing to Beijing for the case of Ma Qixi, said, “(Ma Qixi) never abandoned his practice of the tenets, reciting and breathing endlessly, following the rituals and prostrating at night in the prison.”²² The Fourth descendant, Min Zhidao, added, “Notwithstanding his defense of charges against him in the capital, he devoted himself to prostrations without other thought except for Allah, thus receiving all magnificence and gracefulness from Him.”²³ Ma, after having been imprisoned in Gaolan County (皋蘭縣), showed his devotion in how “his mind roved outside the dungeon, even though his suffering was impending. He never turned away from Allah with his unfettered faith and affection, thus setting aside his anxiety and keeping himself peaceful and happy.”²⁴ All the sayings of the descending leaders of Xi Dao Tang pointed to a commonality that through the practices of Daocheng, and the five pillars in particular, one finally finds the true way to Allah, and this is emphasized in Liu Zhi’s thoughts and writings. In so doing, Xi Dao Tang summarizes Daocheng as “a student of Daochen, one’s act and practices, such as pondering, meditation and night prostrations, are included in Daocheng, whose analogy is like blossoms on the trees; Zhencheng in contrast, are an advanced, ascending further to after having detached from the secular as a heavenly being, like the blossoms becoming ripe and bearing fruit.”²⁵ Certainly, not all the disciples of Xi Dao Tang are required to do Daocheng, except the four descending leaders; all the others in the majority are only required to do Jiaocheng.

20 Qinghai Minzu Xueyuan Minzu Yanjiusuo (青海民族學院民族研究所) & Xibei Minzu Xueyuan Minzu Yanjiusuo (西北民族學院民族研究所), ed., *Historical Collections of Xi Dao Tang (Xidaotang shiliaoji 西道堂史料集)* (Unknown publisher: 1978), 3.

21 Ibid., 61.

22 Ibid., 64.

23 Ibid., 67.

24 Ibid.

25 Ibid., 110.

Altogether, the scope of content in Liu Zhi's thoughts includes many other subjects, such as the existence of Allah, the formation of the universe, and daily practices of Muslims. But, in terms of his influences on Xi Dao Tang, particularly in Jiaocheng and Daocheng, Xi Dao Tang shows the paramount influences of the Jiaocheng. However, we have not dealt with other features of Xi Dao Tang, such as its economy and communal life, establishing Islamic education, etc., that are out of the scope of this chapter, and should be followed in other papers.

A Tentative Analysis of the Concept of “Heaven” and the Relationship between Islam and Confucianism in the Works by Ma Dexin

Wang Jianping

Abstract

This paper discusses how Ma Dexin (馬德新), the prominent Chinese Islamic scholar, integrated the Islamic perception of God with the Confucian ideal of “Heaven (*Tian* 天)” using comparative methods to introduce “Heaven” from Neo-Confucian philosophic sources and to equate it to Allah. Ma Dexin endeavored to foster objective communication between the basic principles or ideas in Islam and the basic concepts of Confucian thought, which influenced the cultural atmosphere for Chinese Muslims with its rational approach. Also, Ma promoted mutual understanding between Muslims and Han Chinese in the Confucian dominated society and aimed for peaceful co-existence. Although his effort did not succeed, he still left a legacy by which later Chinese Muslim generations could understand non-Islamic traditions and cultures.

Keywords

Ma Dexin – Heaven – Allah – Islam – Confucianism

1 Introduction

At the end of the Qing Dynasty when Ahong Wang Haoran (王浩然), the Imam of Niu Jie (牛街) Mosque in Beijing, returned to China after having completed the *Hajj* pilgrimage to Mecca and visited the Ottoman Empire and other Islamic countries along the way, he was thoroughly aware of the backwardness of traditional Islamic education in Hui Muslim society and the

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very conservative and static nature in the ideas embraced by the Hui Islamic clerical circle in China. Hence, Imam Wang advocated Islamic educational reform among the Muslim groups and was determined to initiate a new type of Muslim school. Under his leadership, Islamic *madrasah* (*qingzhen xuetang* 清真學堂) and “the Islamic and Confucian Primary School” (*Jing Ru xiaoxue* 經儒小學) emerged in large numbers in a short period of time at the beginning of the 20th century. Meanwhile, the new educational method of introducing Chinese classical literature into the Islamic educational curriculum became a very popular trend in Chinese Muslim society. By the end of 1911, it was roughly estimated that just in the city of Beijing, among the more than thirty mosques and Hui Muslim communities¹ there were five Islamic *madrasahs* and seven Islamic and Confucian Primary Schools which had been established and impacted by the reform campaigned by Ahong Wang who strongly advocated the religious educational rejuvenation and renovation.²

Here, in the context of the Islamic and Confucian Primary School, the term “Islamic” in general refers to the basic Islamic doctrine explicated by the Quran, it also refers to the studies of the gateway language toward understanding the Quran which is elementary Arabic language education, and basic Islamic ritual knowledge in light of the Quran, i.e., how to pray, how to undertake ablution before prayer and how to recite the short verses of the Quran and the prayer words, etc. In the title of the Islamic and Confucian Primary School the term of “Confucianism” in general refers to the Confucian classics represented by the works of Confucius (*Kong Zi* 孔子) and Mencius (*Meng Zi* 孟子), and their ideas of morality and doctrinal disciplines. It also refers to the Han Chinese language, a gateway tool leading toward discerning the Confucian classics. Children needed to study *The Three Character Classic* (*San zi jing* 三字經), *The Hundred Family Names* (*Bai jia xing* 百家姓), and other works of classic Chinese literature such as *Four Books and Five Classics* (*Sishu wujing* 四書五經), etc., in order to understand Confucian knowledge. From the appellation “Islamic and Confucian Primary School” and the educational contents taught in Arabic and Chinese languages, namely, the contents of the Quran and Confucian classics, it is known that in the perceptions of Muslim scholars and the sages of ancient China, there was no contradiction between Islam and Confucianism, and no contradiction between the Quran and Confucian Classics. From their points of view, the basic creeds and the

1 Zhang Julin (張巨齡), *Historical Recalling in Islamic Literatures* (*Luyuan Gouchen* 綠苑鉤沉) (Beijing: Minzu chubanshe, 2001), 61.

2 Ibid., 51.

ideas of the two great religions could be mutually communicated, and could supplement each other and be harmonious with each other.

Initially the parallel thoughts of Islam and Confucianism embraced by Chinese Muslim educators and Ahongs did not start at the end of the Qing Dynasty as suggested above. Rather they were initiated in the period of late Ming and early Qing dynasties if not much earlier. The Islamic thinkers and religious scholars such as Zhang Zhong (張中), Wang Daiyu (王岱輿), Ma Zhu (馬注) and Liu Zhi (劉智) had written works in which they used Chinese religious terminology such as found in Confucianism and Buddhism to explicate and explain Islamic principles and dogma, and they made some general comparative studies on the basic perceptions between Islam and Confucianism, Buddhism and Taoism.³ This paper emphasizes the discourse of Grand Ahong Ma Dexin, a very prominent Muslim scholar and *madrasah* teacher of Islam in China in the 19th Century, and looks at how he synthesized the conception of “Allah” in Islam with “Heaven” in Confucianism. He considered “Heaven,” as found in Neo Confucianism’s (*xin Rujia xuepai* 新儒家學派) philosophical ideas represented by Cheng Yi (程頤) and Zhu Xi (朱熹), to be tantamount to “Real Lord” or “God” in the perception of Islamic theology. This paper also presents his method of comparative religion and his attitude to actively promote different religions for mutual understanding and mutual dialogue in the theological domain.

2 A Brief Biography of Ma Dexin and His Great Contribution to Islam in China

Ma Dexin was born in an Islamic clerical family in 1794 in Taihe xian (太和縣), today’s Dali Bai Nationality Autonomous Prefecture of Yunnan. Given the Chinese classic-style name Fuchu (復初), literally meaning, “To return the original essentiality,” Ma also had an Arabic name: Yusuf. In his

3 Wang Jianping (王建平), “On Comparative Study between Islam and Confucianism made by the Muslim Hui Scholars in Yunnan in the Middle of the Qing Dynasty (*Qing ji Yunnan Huizu xuezhe dui Yisilanjiao he Rujiao de bijiao yanjiu* 清季雲南回族學者對伊斯蘭教和儒教的比較研究),” *Journal of Institute of Yunnanese Nationalities (Yunnan Minzu Xueyuan Xuebao* 雲南民族學院學報) 1 (2000); Wang Jianping, “On Comparative Study between Islam and Buddhism, Taoism made by the Muslim Hui Scholars in Yunnan in the Middle of the Qing Dynasty (*Qing ji Yunnan Huizu xuezhe dui Yisilanjiao he Fojiao, Daojiao de bijiao yanjiu* 清季雲南回回學者對伊斯蘭教和佛教、道教的比較研究),” *Journal of the Second College of Northwestern China’s Nationalities (Xibei d’er Minzu Xueyuan Xuebao* 西北第二民族學院學報) 3 (2003).

later years Yunnan Muslims called him "Ruh al-Din," an Arabic name meaning "Soul of Religion" (Islam). According to one of his disciples Ma Anli (馬安禮) who translated many Arabic works of Ma Dexin and also collaborated with his teacher in elegant classic Chinese to write Islamic works, Ma Dexin was the 21st generation descendent of Sayyid al-Ajall Shams al-Din Omar.⁴ Shams al-Din was the Yunnan Provincial Governor in the Yuan Dynasty, though his original hometown was in Bukhara in Central Asia. The *History of the Yuan Dynasty* (*Yuanshi* 元史) recorded that Sayyid al-Ajall Shams al-Din was the descendent of the Prophet Muhammad,⁵ therefore, Ma Dexin was considered a *Sayyid* (a descendant of the Prophet Muhammad) as well. Usually, if a Muslim has this title, he can enjoy prestigious social status in the community and is highly honored by people. In his childhood Ma studied Arabic, Persian and the Islamic texts including the Quran under the guidance of his father, an Imam in his native town. In his youth Ma traveled the lengthy journey to Chang'an (長安), today's Xi'an (西安) of Shaanxi Province (陝西省), studied Islam and the Quran under the supervision of Zhou Liangjun (周良駿), the fourth generation disciple of Master Hu Dengzhou (胡登洲). Hu Dengzhou was a prestigious Muslim scholar and also the founder of the *madrasah* educational system (*jingtang jiaoyu* 經堂教育) in China in the late Ming Dynasty. Becoming well versed in Islamic knowledge in Northwestern China, Ma Dexin returned to Yunnan and was invited to be *ahong* of a mosque in Jianshui xian (建水縣). He also took charge of *madrasah* education and led prayers. At that point, Ma became a well-known *madrasah* teacher in Yunnan. Unsatisfied with what he had learned from the *madrasah* in Chang'an, Ma went to Mecca for pilgrimage. Taking advantage of the long *Hajj* pilgrimage, he also toured the academic centers of Cairo, Alexandria, Jerusalem, Cyprus, Istanbul, Rhodes, Aden, Singapore, etc., and met with Islamic scholars and religious Sheikhs where he was able to engage them in discussion and explanation of Islamic doctrines and theological questions. On his journey, Ma collected Islamic books and manuscript texts. In eight years he completed this *Hajj* and returned to Yunnan.⁶ After this fruitful itinerant journey to Mecca and study in the

4 Ma Anli (馬安禮), "Epitaph of Ma Dexin, the General Imam of the Muslims in Southern Yunnan (*Dian nan Hui Hui zongzhangjiao Ma Gong mu zhi* 滇南回回總掌教馬公墓志)," in *The Hui Muslim Uprising (Huimin qiyi* 回民起義), ed. Bai Shouyi (白壽彝), vol. 2 (Shanghai: Shenzhou Guoguangshe, 1952), 355–356.

5 Song Lian (宋濂) et al., "Sayyid al-Ajall Shams al-Din (*Saidianchishansiding* 賽典赤瞻思丁)," in *History of the Yuan Dynasty (Yuanshi* 元史) (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1976), 3064–3065.

6 Ma Dexin, *The Diary of Pilgrimage Journey to Mecca (Chaojin tu ji* 朝覲途記), trans. Ma Anli (Yinchuan: Ningxia renmin chubanshe, 1988).

Islamic world, he resumed his position as *madrasah* teacher in the Hui Muslim communities of Yunnan such as Lin'an (臨安), today's Jianshui xian (建水縣), Huilong Village (回龍村 in Lin'an) and Daying (大營) in Yuxi (玉溪), he not only taught Islam but was also in charge of the religious services and interpretation of Islamic laws in the regional Muslim communities. With his great efforts, Islamic education in Yunnan flourished and many Islamic scholars came from other parts of China, gathered around him and often sought his advice or guidance on the issues of Islamic doctrines and Islamic law (*shariah*). Ma's reputation for Islamic expertise grew so high that Muslims in China bestowed upon him the honorific, "Old Papa" (*lao baba* 老巴巴). In Persian "*papa*" refers to the elderly scholar with high morality and esteemed knowledge, particularly, Arabic Quranic knowledge.⁷

However, social crises, ethnic tensions and bloody conflicts in the Yunnan region became serious. The socio-economic situation there worsened in the 1850s. Moreover, the deteriorated bureaucratic politics of the imperial governance and the corruption of both the central and local authorities, failed in mediating confrontations between Hui and Han groups, hence the legal system lost its legitimacy. These events caused by discriminative policies and ethnic exploitation resulted in Hui Muslims in Yunnan undertaking a large-scale insurgency against the imperial government. As the armed rebellion against the Qing government broke out in 1856 AD. Grand Ahong Ma Dexin was selected to be the spiritual and organizational leader by Hui Muslims due to his venerable reputation and influence among the Muslim communities. He called the Hui people in Southeastern Yunnan to participate in this uprising against policies of Muslim ethnic discrimination carried out by the local authorities. He also advocated close cooperation with another Hui uprising in Western Yunnan led by Du Wenxiu (杜文秀), at which point, the rebellious forces of Hui Muslims controlled two third of Yunnan Province. Ma Dexin saw so many innocent people lose their lives and so many people turned from their homes as refugees forced to live in miserable conditions due to ethnic cleansing. This reality, in which many people died every day, drove Ma Dexin and Ma Rulong (馬如龍), as the leaders of the Muslim insurgent force in Southern and Southeastern Yunnan, to choose to surrender their armed forces to the imperial authorities after the negotiation and the signing of a peace agreement. In the aftermath, Ma Dexin was awarded the title of Beg in Second Rank (*Erpin Boke* 二品伯克), a Turkish title for Islamic clergymen, and "Islamic Chief in

7 Na Guochang (納國昌) and Ma Chenghua (馬成化), "Ma Dexin (馬德新)," in *Chinese Encyclopedia of Islam (Zhongguo Yisilanjiao baike quanshu 中國伊斯蘭百科全書)*, ed. Wan Yaobin (宛耀賓) (Chengdu: Sichuan cishu chubanshe, 1994), 327–328.

General for Hui Muslims of Southern Yunnan" (*Diannan Huihui zongzhangjiao* 滇南回回總掌教) by the Imperial Court of the Qing. After the Muslim insurgency in Yunnan was suppressed by the Qing Government, Ma was given the death sentence without any charges or accusations being lodged against him in 1874 AD. Imperial authorities feared his vast popularity among Yunnan Hui people and also wished to disrupt his approach of taking care of the Hui Muslims. Ma died at the age of 81, as a martyr.⁸

Ma Dexin dedicated his life to the work of explaining and expounding Islamic doctrines, and Islamic culture's enlightenment and elaboration. In the history of Islam in China he ranks with Wang Daiyu, Ma Zhu, Liu Zhi as "the Four Great Islamic Scholars, Translators and Writers" of Chinese Islam. Among the four masters of Quranic research, he is the only one who served, over the course of his whole life, the Islamic cause and took the religious posts of *ahong* and *imam*.

Of the more than 30 Islamic books he wrote and translated we are able to divide them into five groups.

1. The works focusing on Islamic ritual, Islamic law, Islamic doctrine and Islamic philosophy: *Sidian yaohui* (四典要會), *Dahua zonggui* (大化總歸), *A Thorough Study on Practicing Faith* (*Daoxing jiujiing* 道行究竟), *Doctrine of the Mean in Islamic Theology* (*Lixue zhezong* 理學折衷), *The Fundamental Purpose of Mind and Destiny* (*Xingming zongzhi* 性命宗旨), *Beneficent Illustration of Prayer and Rules* (*Li fa qi ai* 禮法啟愛), *Inquiring into the Proofs with the Doctrine* (*Juli zhizheng* 據理質證).
2. The works dealing with theories of the Islamic calendar and geography: *Main Expounding to the Earth and the Universe* (*Kuanyu shuyao* 寰宇述要), *The Islamic Calendar* (*Tianfang li yuan* 天方曆源).
3. The brief introductions and commentaries to works by scholars such as Wang Daiyu, Ma Zhu and Liu Zhi: *Key Abstracts from the True Annotations* (*Zhenquan yaolu* 真詮要錄), *Key Words of the Islamic Guidebook* (*Zhinan yao yan* 指南要言), *Commentaries to the Islamic Philosophy in Arabia* (*Tianfang xingli zhushi* 天方性理注釋).
4. The earliest abridged Chinese translation of the Arabic Quran in China: *Baoming zhenjing zhijie* (寶命真經直解).

8 Yao Guoliang (姚國梁), *Biographies of Ma Fuchu and Du Wenxiu including Ma Rulong* (*Ma Fuchu Du Wenxiu Zhuan, fu Ma Rulong* 馬復初傳 • 杜文秀傳, 附馬如龍) (Chuxiong: Chuxiong shizhuan yinshuachang, 2001).

5. Text books on Arabic grammar and rhetoric: *Al-Nahw al-Muttasiq* (Syntax), *Al-Sarf al-Muttasiq* (Grammar), *Awamil* (Patterns of the Verb Change), etc. Ma Dexin also wrote *Chaojin tu ji* (朝覲途記) and other textbooks in Arabic for Islamic *madrasah* such as *Asrar al-Ma'ad*, *Nasa'ih*, *al-Muhkam*, *Mantiq*, *Ma'al al-'amal*, *Marabit al-iman*, *al-Qurra'i*, *Qissat Adam* (Story of Adam).

All these writings and translation works contain texts he translated directly from Arabic and Persian, those he wrote in Chinese or edited or wrote in Arabic and Persian, those he narrated orally that were then recorded by his disciples, though he himself carefully checked and reviewed them before sending them for publication.

Aside from the great contribution to Islamic thought and theoretical studies of Chinese Islam influenced by his many religious books, another great merit accomplished by Ma Dexin was his promotion and reform of the Islamic *madrasah* education system in the Yunnan region in late Qing Dynasty. According to Ma Lianyuan (馬聯元), a prominent Islamic scholar in Yunnan's Hui Muslim society, Ma Dexin, based on the Islamic reality of China and in light of the demands from *madrasah* teaching, edited and wrote many easily understood and simplified textbooks on various Islamic subjects with Chinese contextual characteristics. These texts heavily referenced Islamic classics and gave commentaries to many difficult questions raised by these Islamic manuscripts. These simplified books can be easily comprehended and accepted by religious students of various *madrasahs*, and they allowed the time spent studying at Quranic schools to be shortened, making them very popular with the religious students of *madrasahs* in China. Ma used his profound knowledge formed on the basis of the many Islamic classics he collected, to compose Islamic textbooks and teaching materials for *madrasah* education in Yunnan. Most used easily understood language, with broad content. They benefitted the Hui Muslims who had not learned Arabic when they were younger. In the past, many Muslims and clergymen, due to the great distance to the Arab peninsula, found it difficult to undertake the long journey to Mecca and the geographic isolation made their pronunciation of Arabic, when reading the Quran, full of errors that were inherited through the generations. The mistakes were preserved and taken as correct because of the old fashioned *madrasah* pedagogy and the poor communication between the Far East and the central Islamic world. This incorrect pronunciation was spread widely in Muslim communities of China. After Ma's *Hajj* mission, he noticed that the problem was so serious that he paid a lot of attention on correcting the recitation of the Arabic Quran word-by-word, sentence-by-sentence. Because religious personnel maintained

the wrong pronunciation for so many generations, this actually became a bad habit that was difficult to redress. Under Ma's insistent efforts, many misspellings and pronunciation mistakes were corrected. Due to his great contribution and influence, many Muslim students in Chinese *madrasahs* still study his Islamic writings and the textbooks he composed for the Islamic schools more than one century ago.⁹

Surveying the life of Ma Dexin and his religious practices and experiences, we are able to discover many unique characteristics compared with other esteemed Islamic scholars such as Wang Daiyu, Ma Zhu and Liu Zhi who also achieved a lot for Islam in China. Ma Dexin, however, was the only one to dedicate his whole life to the clergy and engage in *madrasah* education for a very long time. Among the four great Islamic scholars, Ma Dexin was the only one to fulfill the imperative pillar of *Hajj* to Mecca and who traveled widely, studying extensively in the Islamic world. He was the earliest Chinese Muslim scholar to study in Al-Azhar University in Cairo, the highest center of Islamic studies in the world. He was the only religious scholar to actively participate in the social and political reform of that times and he was the leader of the Hui Muslim uprising. Furthermore, he wrote more Islamic books in Arabic and Persian for later Muslim generations. Finally, Ma was the only one among the four great Islamic scholars who was executed by the imperial rulers and became a religious martyr. These characteristics qualify him for an important and special position in the history of Islam in China, and his religious ideas and the theological conceptions deserve to be studied in depth and at great length.

9 See: Ma Lianyuan (馬聯元), *The Arabic Epitaph of Ma Fuchu (Ma Fuchu awen beimu zhiming 馬復初阿文碑墓誌銘)* written in 1884. Ma Lianyuan wrote the tomb inscription ten years after Ma Dexin's execution (1874 AD). The Arabic calligraphy of the tomb inscription was written by Tian Jiapi (田家培), a disciple of Ma Lianyuan, and was carved on the marble monument stone which was set at the side of Ma Dexin's grave. During the period of 1939 to 1940, Ahong Ma Yingling (馬應麟), who was a *madrasah* student from Menghua (蒙化) (today's Weishan 巍山) and studied Arabic at that time in Daying Village of Yuxi xian (玉溪大營村), hand-copied this Arabic epitaph on the papers and then bound them with another hand-copied Arabic textbook. So the manuscript of this Arabic tomb inscription survived wars and political turmoil. After the Cultural Revolution, Ma Yingling took the post of Ahong at Fengwei Village of Shadian in Gejiu (個舊市沙甸鳳尾村) and he showed this manuscript which he kept for his religious students. Ma Jizhu (馬繼祖), from Yunnan, hand-copied the Arabic epitaph from the copy in the possession of a Hui Muslim student in Yunnan in the 1980s. Ma Jizu collaborated with Ahong Ma Yingling to translate it into Chinese. I copied this Chinese version of the Arabic epitaph from Ahong Yang Yongchang (楊永昌), the director of the Islamic Madrasah of China in Beijing in early 1990.

3 Explanation of Ma Dexin's Conception of "Heaven"

In his representative works such as *Sidian yaohui* (四典要會) and *Dahua zonggui* (大化總歸), Ma Dexin comprehensively elaborated the Islamic doctrines, practices, *shariah* (Islamic law), religious rituals and philosophy. These Islamic scholarly works took the Islamic tenets as the foundation to explain theories such as the of Principle (*Li* 理) and Vital Force (*Qi* 氣), the conceptions and paradigms of Negative (*Yin* 陰) and Positive (*Yang* 陽), of Creator and Creation (*Zao hua* 造化), of Manifestation and Core Nature (*Biao li* 表裡), of Kindness and Evilness (*Shang'e* 善惡) to repeatedly explore Allah as the original source of creating and cultivating the permanent world (*hua yu wan shi* 化育萬世) and of displaying and nourishing all lives (*hua sheng wan wu* 化生萬物). Based on this creation, Allah, in Islamic doctrines gradually shapes the universe into three phases with different natures: the primordial world (*xian tian* 先天), this world (*zhong tian* 中天) and the next world (*hou tian* 後天). Therefore, Ma Dexin remedied the deficiency of the Islamic theory of "rebirth in the next life" held by scholars such as Wang Daiyu; as a result, he combined Islamic philosophy with Chinese traditional Confucian theories in an authentic way. In my opinion, the greatest contribution made by Ma Dexin in his exploration of Chinese Islamic theories and Chinese Islamic doctrines is that he metaphysically made "Heaven" as found in the idealistic Confucianism of Cheng Yi and Zhu Xi similar to that of Allah in the doctrine of Islam, and with this resemblance he located the merging spot and the linking bridge for the ideals of two great civilizations in the world which are the Islamic civilization and Confucian civilization.

In the ideas of Confucianism, Heaven has three levels of meaning: firstly, the celestial emperor (*Tian Di* 天帝), the ruler of the all lives and all worldly affairs of people. This concept is expressed in the phrases in Chinese, 'the will with Heavenly dimension (*tian yi* 天意)' and 'the support from Heaven (*tian zhu* 天助)'. In the first part of the volume of the *Vows on Tai Mountain* (*Taishi* 泰誓), it says: "Heaven blesses the ordinary people on the earth". In the verse of *the North Gate* (*Beimen* 北門), it says: "Heaven has done substantially already, it is unnecessary for people to comment on it." Religious scholars consider it the niche where holy spirits dwell, such as paradise (*tian tang* 天堂) and the celestial kingdom (*tian guo* 天國). Secondly, it refers to the original source of the universal spirit in the discourse of ancient idealistic philosophers in China. In the first part of the volume "Mind Striving (*jinxin* 盡心)" in the *Classic Book of Mencius* (*Mengzi* 孟子), it says: "One who exercises all his heart and mind will know nature and therefore know Heaven". Zhu Xi annotated: "Heart and mind are the soul and feeling of man, hence he employs various principles (*li* 理) to

respond to world affairs; Nature (*xing* 性) is the principles borne by heart and mind. Heaven comes from the source of principles." That means all conceptions or principles that humans embrace come from Heaven, so they interpret Heaven as something akin to a spiritual substance or spiritual entity. Thirdly, a great deal of content refers to material and objective nature or the universe. In "On Heaven (*Tianlun* 天論)" in the classic *Book of Xun Zi* (*Xunzi* 荀子), it says: "Stars move around in their orbit, the Sun and the Moon shine in turns, four seasons change yearly in order and the great manifestation inter-played by Negative (*yin* 陰) and Positive (*yang* 陽)... that is so called Heaven." In "Nature (*Ziran* 自然)," in the *Book on Balance* (*Lunheng* 論衡), it says: "Heaven has its own motion, it does not need any external artificial forces to act, and it is natural. It is only the Vital Force or spirit (*qi* 氣), so light and so senseless, emotionless and inactive."¹⁰

The transparent idea of Heaven in Confucianism was formulated on the basis of some Chinese Confucian thinkers represented by Zhang Zai (張載), Zhou Dunyi (周敦頤), Cheng Yi (程頤), Cheng Hao (程顥) and Zhu Xi (朱熹) etc., during the Song and Ming Dynasties. For example, the kernel of the Theory of the Universal Composition (*yuzhou goucheng lun* 宇宙構成論) by Zhou Dunyi is the idea of the original source, "following it to reach Supreme Ultimate (*wuji* 無極) one can reach Grand Ultimate (*taiji* 太極)," but every move and every pause from Grand Ultimate can come out in all aspects of the world which are catalogued into Negative force (*yin* 陰) and Positive force (*yang* 陽).¹¹ Zhang Zai raised the theory of "the Great Void (*taixu* 太虛) merely being the Vital Force (*qi* 氣)". The theory affirms that the Vital Force is the substantial entity to fill the whole universe. Everything, and every phenomenon on earth, is formed or occurs because of the fission and fusion of the Vital Force, which is thus attributed to be the origin of all substance. Cheng Hao continually explicated the hypothesis that "Heaven is the Principle (*li* 理)," and "the individual heart and mind are Heaven so that if we strive with all our hearts and minds we will know nature (*xing* 性)." So he combined Heaven with Principle and defined "the Celestial Principle" as the primordial source (*benyuan* 本原).¹² The theory of Cheng Yi is mainly based on thoroughly understanding the

10 "Philosophy Volume (*zhexue fence* 哲學分冊)," in *Encyclopedia of Chinese Language* (*Ci hai* 辭海) (Shanghai: Shanghai cishu chubanshe, 1980), 120.

11 Zhou Dunyi (周敦頤), *Theory of the Grand Ultimate Illustration* (*Taiji tu shuo* 太極圖說) (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1992).

12 Cheng Hao (程顥) and Cheng Yi (程頤), *Lost Classics of the Two Chengs* (*Er Cheng yishu* 二程遺書) (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2000), roll 2.

principle (*qiongli* 窮理) and he thought that “All that is substantial in the world can be thoroughly understood, it just needs The Principle.” This Principle is “destiny if it is embodied in Heaven but nature if it is embodied in man. If we want to search out its heart and mind in the domain, it is nothing except the universal law (*Dao* 道).” Therefore, he raised the concept of “extinguishing man’s desire (*renyu* 人欲) and preserving the Celestial Principle (*tianli* 天理),” With this he constantly elaborated the perception of “the Celestial Principle” (天理).¹³ Zhu Xi developed the theory of the relation between “Principle and Vital Force” (理氣) explicated by Cheng Yi and Cheng Hao. He assembled all the merits from the theory of Confucian Idealism (*li xue* 理學) and established a comprehensive system of the Idealist Philosophy (*li xue tixi* 理學體系) in Confucianism during the Song and Ming dynasties. He thought that Principle could not separate from Vital Force, saying, “There cannot be a universe having the Vital Force without Principle and vice versa.” He emphasized the incompatibility between “the Celestial Principle” and “man’s desire”, thus he urged people to give up “self-desire (*siyu* 私欲)” and to submit to “the Celestial Principle” (*tianli* 天理).¹⁴ Consequently in the ideological perceptions of the Chinese idealist philosophers, the Principle of Heaven almost has the same sacred attribute of Ruling Lord (*zhu zai* 主宰), it has the characteristics of transcendence and dominance above all. In the ideas of the Confucian literati, particularly of School of the Idealist Philosophy (*li xue pai* 理學派), Heaven is the universe or Grand Ultimate,¹⁵ an entity surpassing the material world, a Ruling Lord of the world. Hence, Heaven is the universal attribute in Confucian thinking, the reality commonly shared by all human beings.

The “Celestial Principle” from Confucianism was eventually considered to be similar to or corresponding with the conception of Allah or True Lord (*zhenzai* 真宰) in Islam. Since *Zhenzai* in Chinese Islam is inter-related with Heaven or the Celestial Principle in Confucianism, in many Chinese books the Islamic prayer of Hui Muslims is often described as “worship Heaven” (*baitian* 拜天).¹⁶ Whether the Hui Islamic scholars initially utilized this wording from the conception of Chinese philosophy in order to promote the

13 Cheng & Cheng, roll 15, 18 and 22.

14 “Zhu Xi (朱熹),” in *Encyclopedia of Chinese Language (Ci hai 辭海)* (Shanghai: Shanghai cishu chubanshe, 1980), 188–189.

15 Mircea Eliade & Joseph M. Kitagawa, ed., *The History of Religions* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1974), 59.

16 “Islam (*Hui jiao* 回教),” in *Gazetteer of Xiping Xian (Xinping xian zhi 新平縣誌)* (N.p: n.p., 1827), 2–3; Zhang Tingxiu (張廷玉), *History of the Ming Dynasty (Ming shi 明史)* (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1984), 8624.

mutual understanding to Chinese Confucian literati, or the Chinese Confucian literati explained this in their subjective way for the Islamic ritual, this question remains unresolved even until today. In my humble opinion this phenomenon is probably a result of the efforts and persuasion from both sides.

Ma Dexin, referring to the elaboration upon concepts of "Heaven" (*Tian* 天) and "the Celestial Principle" (*Tianli* 天理) in Neo-Confucianism in Song and Ming dynasties, affirmed that the characteristics of "Heaven" in Confucianism are very similar to those of "Allah" in Islamic doctrines. Ma Dexin recounted the idea expressed in *The Book of Poetry* (*Shi jing* 詩經), "The load of High Heaven (*shangtian* 上天) is soundless and scentless", "Heaven is nothing, like a block of matter; what the fundamental disciplines are is what the Ruling Lord is."¹⁷ Concerning the perception of the sameness between Heaven and True Lord, Ma Dexin explicated it very clearly in *Sidian yaohui* (四典要會). "What Islam worships is the True Lord who creates the sky and the earth, who cultivates all lives, who maintains the structure of ethics and quantities, who controls men and spirits. Confucian tradition calls it "Heaven", which is a notion common to people in every place on earth and in every dynasty throughout history and in the future. What it has kept in practice is namely following Heaven, serving Heaven, worshipping Heaven, fearing Heaven, those are the common rituals practiced by all countries in all times. What is it if we compare it to the customs of idolatry in other religions or praying to Buddha? Some other religions even believe that the spirits inside earth, wood, gold and rock are able to decide auspiciousness, ominousness, luck, and that disasters ruin the world. Who is right and who is wrong? Confucius says that "if we offend Heaven, it will be hopeless even we pray for Heaven's assistance. That is adequate enough to be clearly understood. Mencius says, "Clean yourself and stop eating meat, it is enough to worship God." That's also sufficient to prove its correctness. As a result, Ma Dexin continued to elaborate this declaration that because Heaven is omnipresent and omniscient, therefore, all matters have proved the existence of God.¹⁸ He further pointed out, "In Islamic theology the primary thing is to recognize Allah. If one does not do it, solely, his virtue will have no foundation. In ancient times there was no name given to God, but later on the

17 Ma Dexin, "The Six Tenets of the Original Faith (*Xin yuan liu zhen* 信源六箴)," in *Essence of the Four Canons* (*Sidian yaohui* 四典要會) (Xining: Qinghai renmin chubanshe, 1988), 21.

18 Ibid., 19, 34, 64. Ma Dexin also cited a verse from *Classics of Poetry* (*Shijing* 詩經), "Being great careful and cautiously to serve and worship God (*xiaoxin yiyi, zhaoshi shangdi* 小心翼翼, 昭事上帝)".

Confucians called it Heaven.”¹⁹ Another Hui Muslim scholar named ‘Arif,’ who lived after Ma Dexin more clearly defined that “Heaven is not the heaven of the sky and the earth, it is Heaven that creates the sky and the earth, that dominates the sky and the earth, namely Allah.”²⁰

But when Islamic scholars such as Ma Dexin integrated the oneness of Allah in Islam with the conception of “Heaven” in Confucian tradition, they insisted on keeping Islam a certain distance from Confucian doctrines. As Confucian scholars commented that Heaven is the most solitary, the hardest substance, moreover it is the entity that moves around in perpetual motion, Chinese Muslim scholars objected, saying that there must be some force dominating the material heaven emphasized by Confucianism.²¹ This implication illustrates that Allah, in Islam, is still more transcendent and more supreme than Heaven on a physical level (or viewed as the sky) as understood by Confucianism. In terms of the conclusive comparative aspects made by Ma Dexin on Heaven and Allah, ‘Arif,’ the Yunnan Muslim scholar, said more directly, “What Confucianism has said about God is nothing but Allah spoken of by Islam. In the Yin and Zhou Dynasties, people began to call God, Heaven. For instance, the *Yijing* (*Yi* 易) advocates follow the arrangements of Heaven. *The Book of Classics* (*Shu* 書) calls on one to pray to Heaven and to gain eternal life; the *Book of Poetry* (*Shi* 詩) explicates the worship of Heaven with awe in one’s heart; the *Analects of Confucius* (*Lunyu* 論語) says that Heaven grants us the virtue to fear the Celestial Destiny (*tianming* 天命). In *Doctrine of the Golden Mean* (*Zhongyong* 中庸) the Celestial Destiny (*tianming* 天命) is explained as the fundamental nature of reality. *The Book of Mencius* states that if one knows the nature [of things] then he knows Heaven. . . . Therefore, the Heaven of God (*shangdi zhi tian* 上帝之天) spoken of in Confucianism and Allah’s Heaven (*zhenzhu zhi tian* 真主之天) in the discourses of Islam are not Heaven of the sky and the earth.”²²

Acknowledging the discussion above, readers should be able to clearly understand that the scope of Allah, or the “Real Lord” or “God” (*Zhenzai* 真宰 or *Zhuzai* 主宰) in Islam 1) is equivalent to “Ruling Lord of the world” (*Shijie zhuzai* 世界主宰)—the first level of the concept of “Heaven” in Confucian

19 Ma Dexin, *The Enlightening and Guiding Ode of the Basic Faith of Islam* (*Tianfang xinyuan mengyin ge* 天方信源蒙引歌) (N.p: n.p., n.d.). This book was punctuated by Bai Lengxi (白冷西) and printed by him and Ma Youlin (馬佑齡) in the period of the end of the Qing Dynasty and the beginning of the Republic of China.

20 Arif, “Explanation of Heaven (*Tian zhi jie* 天之解),” in *The Highest Praise in Worshipping Heaven* (*Zhutian dazan* 祝天大贊), ed. Ma Dexin (Kunming: Nancheng Mosque, 1896), 12.

21 See n. 17, *supra*.

22 Arif, 13.

philosophy, 2) has some attributes of "Primordial Spiritual Source" (*Jingshen benyuan* 精神本源)—the second level, and 3) differs from "celestial substance" (*Tianti wuzhi* 天體物質)—the third level. Regarding this, Ma Dexin expounded further, "'Heaven' is the strongest, hardest and most positive concept in the extreme of Yang (陽) that is running and working endlessly—thus, there must be something ruling and controlling it from above." From this point of view, it can be assumed that there is another invisible and upper "Heaven", which governs the visible "Heaven" discussed before. Allah in Islam is the Heaven without vision. Because it rules all things in the world so it is called God.²³ In brief the conception of "True Lord" in Islam is at last differentiated from physical "heaven" as found in the ideas of Confucian thinking. It accepts the definition of the ultimate truth in Heaven that dominates all earthly things, is absolutely supreme, is able to manifest and absorb life, and to create the world in the theory of the Idealist Philosophy represented by Cheng Yi and Zhu Xi, but it departs from and stops at the philosophical perception that Heaven is similar to the physical and visible heaven in Confucian ideology. Thus, "True Lord" in Islam is much grander and supreme than the Nine Layers of Heaven (*jiu tian* 九天) or the physical nature of Heaven in Confucian thought. They are not comparable. Just as explained by Ma Dexin, "Better to know the greatness of the sky and the earth, the peculiarity of the world, but if comparing it with the greatness of the True Lord, it is just like a mote of dust in the sky."²⁴ He pointed out additionally,

The True Lord seems non-existent but exists, seems void but is substantial. However, the world seems to exist but is non-existent, seems substantial but is empty. In comparing the wideness of the six dimensions (*liu he* 六合) of the universe with the greatness of the Nine Layers of Heaven, the former is just a mote of dust. However, in comparing the visible domain of the Nine Layers of Heaven with the invisible domain of the Principle world, the Nine Layers of Heaven are just like a grain of sand. In comparing the greatness of the Principle world with the destiny sphere, the six dimensions of the universe, the Nine Layers of Heaven and the Principle world are just as small as dust and a grain of sand in front of throne of Allah, even less than dust and a grain of sand.²⁵

23 Ma Dexin, "The Six Tenets of the Original Faith (*Xin yuan liu zhen* 信源六箴)," in *Sidian yaohui* (四典要會) (Xining: Qinghai renmin chubanshe, 1988), 21–22.

24 Ma Dexin, *The Chinese Version of Hanyi daoxing jiuqing* (漢譯道行究竟) (Kunming: Nancheng Mosque, n.d.), 4.

25 *Ibid.*, 19.

Truly, according to the views of Chinese Muslim scholars, although “True Lord” in Islam is equated with Heaven and the Celestial Principle in the Idealist Confucianism, in the restricted sense it is possible to deduce that “True Lord” in Islam is more supreme, noble, absolute and infinite, moreover, Allah is more profound and explicit than Heaven in Confucian doctrines in the view of epistemology.

Only on the basis of this significant understanding, is it recognized that Heaven is the omnipresent and the supreme, that it is, comprehensive. Regarding the relationships between Allah and Heaven, between True Lord and the Celestial Son (*tianzi* 天子, Chinese emperor) an example in Ma Dexin's *The Highest Praise in Worshipping Heaven* (*Zhutian dazan* 祝天大贊) and *Dahua zonggui* (大化總歸), “Alas! The great imperial rule of the dynasty originates from Heaven, the bright virtue (*mingde* 明德) comes from Heaven; Heaven manifests me, Heaven cultivates me, Heaven supports me. Heaven has the power to make me live, and Heaven can make me die.”²⁶ “Nevertheless, the power of Allah is the heavenly power, and the powers of emperors, of ministers and of imperial officials are just humans’ power. As the celestial power manifests greatly, human’s power naturally comes to disappearance and non-existence.”²⁷ In this sense, Ma Dexin distinguished God’s power from the imperial power, and he emphasized that the sacred power of Allah was above all the secular power of emperors.

Because Ma Dexin identified “True Lord” in Islam with Heaven in the Idealist Philosophy of Confucianism in the characteristics in which they dominate all creatures and in the attribute of the original source (*benyuan shuxing* 本原屬性) in creating the material and spiritual world, he advocated that Hui Muslims could not forget Heaven, even for just one day, “Since the period from the Han Dynasty to the Wei Dynasty, Buddhism and Taoism have flourished, their followers are only acquainted with worshipping and revering the idols that are made of clay and wood, but forget Heaven which creates us and grants us the primordial nature. They have offended Heaven, made Heaven so angry that Heaven brought down catastrophes to earth which we could not redress. . . . We should sincerely fast (during Ramadan) and undertake the major ritual ablution, and recite the Quranic text with a pure mind in the morning and evening; show repentance and correct our mistakes; ask Heaven to forgive us, and intend heartily to return to the path toward Heaven. These deeds compare with those who pray to a thousand Buddhas, with those

26 Arif, 9.

27 Ma Dexin and Ma Kaike (馬開科), *Dahua zonggui* (大化總歸) (Unknown publisher, 1939), 31.

who praise the thousand holy names of the Tao, with those who call passers-by "father" and call barbarous persons "emperor," our merit and accomplishments will be countless."²⁸ In short, Ma wanted Hui Muslims to fulfill the Five Pillars of Islam to serve Allah, understood as the Ruling Lord resembling the Confucian notion of Heaven.

Referring to the above mentioned analysis, readers can clearly see that Muslim scholars, such as Ma Dexin in China, have sought to explicate Islamic theological discourses and make the conception of Heaven in the Idealist Philosophy of Confucianism similar to the perception of Allah or True Lord in Islam in order to reduce the tension between Islamic culture and Chinese culture. As Hui Muslims in China encounter the ideas and spirit of Han cultural society, Muslim scholars emphasized the common points between Islam and Confucian theories. This has helped Hui Muslims more easily fulfill faith practices in the context of Chinese society. However, in the internal circle of Hui Muslim society they advocated that Muslim scholars must uphold the oneness of Allah and the idea of Allah as the most supreme. The concept of True Lord or Heaven, for Hui Muslims surpasses the ideal perception of Heaven in the Confucian philosophy in their defense of Islamic theological discourse. All of these measures were taken to prevent the culture of Chinese Muslims from being assimilated by the powerful and dominating Han Confucian culture.

4 Relationship between Islam and Confucianism in the Vision of Ma Dexin

Since Ma Dexin explicitly related the concept of Allah to the perception of Heaven and made a comparison between them in which he found similarities, he simultaneously abandoned some of the elements in the Confucian idea of Heaven that were not compatible with basic Islamic doctrine. Therefore, he was the first Muslim scholar in China to thoroughly seek the Ultimate Truth (*zhongji zhenli* 終極真理) and bravely make a comparative study between Islam and Confucianism. His outstanding and profound knowledge won praise and appreciation from both Han Chinese literati and Hui Muslim scholars. Han Confucian literati rewarded him with the following comments, "Those who study his (Ma Dexin's) theory and read his books, such as *Arabic Philosophy* (*xingli* 性理), *Islamic Ritual* (*dianli* 典禮), and who know details of the purpose in *Principal Explanation of Overt and Covert* (*You ming shi yi* 幽明釋義), will

28 Ma Dexin, *Zhutian dazan* (祝天大贊) (Kunming: Nancheng Mosque, 1896), 6–7.

know that his ideas are neither contrary to the teachings of the prophets in the West nor to the teachings of the sages in China.²⁹ Hui Muslim scholars also respected Ma Dexin very much, “He is very aware of both the history and the present situation. In the past decades, he has studied the knowledge from fundamental sources, has obeyed the idealistic principles of China and has cited the classic books written by Confucius and Mencius. He has interpreted the supreme principles (*zhili* 至理) in both the religious sphere (*tian dao* 天道) and the human sphere (*ren dao* 人道), has decoded the messages in the important passages such as men’s birth and death; his achievements are too great to list fully.”³⁰ Ma’s great mind and ideas have indeed promoted the common understanding and dialogues between Islam and Confucianism. It is worth noting that such an inter-religious understanding and dialogue actually took place one and a half centuries ago.

Of course, in the perceptions of some Islamic scholars in China such as Ma Dexin, Confucianism is a great religion, sharing a fundamental purpose with Islam, so both religions are not contrary to each other. Just as these Hui Muslim scholars commented, “Both Confucianism and Islam came from the same source but were diverted into different branches. Since the times of Fu Xi (伏羲), Yao (堯) and Shun (舜), we all basically worship Heaven. This was recorded by the *Classics of Poetry* (*Shi* 詩, or *Shijing* 詩經) and the *Book of Documents* (*Shu* 書, or *Shangshu* 尚書), and thus can be proven.”³¹ Although Islam and Confucianism share the same spiritual source, they depart in different ways. Why do arguments and debates occur again and again based on their doctrinal teachings? Resembling the Islamic scholars of the past who denounced Christians and Jews as having distorted the authentic teachings and creeds of Bible (聖經) and Torah and consequently leading to theological clashes between Christianity, Judaism and Islam, Islamic scholars including Ma Dexin also blamed the Confucian literati in earlier generations as having gone astray from the real truth of Heaven.

Since the Han Dynasty, Buddhism and Taoism have developed rapidly and consequently Buddhism and Taoism led Confucianism in a wrong

29 Wu Cunyi (吳存義), “Preface” in *Sidian yaohui* (四典要會), by Ma Dexin (Xining: Qinghai renmin chubanshe, 1988).

30 Ma Zhaolong (馬兆龍), “Preface” in *Sidian yaohui* (四典要會), by Ma Dexin (Xining: Qinghai renmin chubanshe, 1988).

31 Ma Anli (馬安禮), *Zhutian dazan* (祝天大贊), by Ma Dexin (Kunming: Nancheng Mosque, 1896).

direction. Both religions shoved their immortals, spirits, demons, ghosts and heretic theories onto society, so they exerted their tricks and made conspirators. By these means they tarnished and distorted people's senses, confused and poisoned people's minds. Our Confucian gentlemen were innocent and unaware of this evilness, hence they fell into heretical traps. As a result, God's dimension in Heaven has been obscured and people could not discover it. . . . In the past the Confucians did not have any translated books on Islam, what a great pity! Today, although there are translated books on Islam, the Confucians look down upon them; even not wanting to read these books. Nevertheless, Confucians have offended Heaven due to their blindness to the truth.³²

Muslim scholars in China also thought that "Mankind is divided into many religious groups but the ideals of these faiths are the same, these are just like various boundary areas on the whole earth under one sky. Humans have passed their traditions down for thousands of years, but they share one kind of spirit, therefore, Principle, the Vital Force and people's capability all originate from one Heaven. The religious paths were paved by the ancient sages, so their offspring and descendants just follow the ways of their ancestors."³³ They pondered that the focus of the different schools of thought in arguments lay at the spot that every religious tradition insisted that, "we are absolutely right and others all wrong. They totally do not distinguish who are correct and who are astray."³⁴ Therefore, the various schools of thought in different religions were confined by their biases and their own deep-rooted traditions. They were just like Confucians, Mohists (*Mo* 墨), Buddhists and Taoists reacting to these actions; in fact they were "mingled in a mess and could not find a way back to their original sources. Although they talked about the ideal of True One (*zhenyi* 真一), they said, 'We have our own way to behave, this way is just as the way of the devoted, filial piety, moral integrity and righteousness.' Although the Truth is right before their eyes, people do not know and do not see."³⁵ Islamic scholars, such as Ma Dexin, thought in a wise way that the main ideas and conceptions in different religions were only the expressions of different languages. For example, so-called inherited nature (*bingxing* 秉性) and

32 Arif, 13–14.

33 Ma Dexin, *Tianfang xinyuan mengyin ge* (天方信源蒙引歌) (N.p: n.p., n.d.).

34 Ibid.

35 Ma Anli, preface to *The Chinese Version of Hanyi daoxing jiuqing* (漢譯道行究竟).

soul (*ling* 靈) in Taoism actually refer to “Tao”, but in Buddhism it is “Buddha” and in Confucianism it is knowledge (*ru* 儒).³⁶

The sages coming from the Eastern Ocean and the sages coming from the Western Ocean, although they have the same mind and choose the same road, have their own responsibilities and these are not transgressed in any way. This is just akin to various ministries in the state government being responsible for their affairs of their own departments respectively.³⁷

If different religions understand their special faith incorrectly or regard it as fundamentally different from others, they confront each other, do not compromise with others, therefore, they never reach peace. The consequence will just be “a world in turmoil and people in danger, and the country will have no central leadership.” Hence, “a broad-minded person does not consider a leader of one region as the highest leader of the world.”³⁸ Even in today’s situation, such an approach is very moderate and very rational, and deserves our respect. However, the enlightened ideas and the deep understanding of a few religious scholars were weak when confronted by violence between various social groups with different interests, especially in the general situation of declining imperial polity and a corrupt officialdom. The era in which Ma Dexin lived was chaotic, with serious clashes between Hui Muslims and Han Chinese caused by imperial authorities. Ethnic and religious violence often occurred and the mutual slaughter of these two social groups became the norm. Given the very tense social political environment framed by imperial policies that fostered discrimination and sharpened the contradictions between different social classes, Ma Anli, the disciple of Ma Dexin, summarized it thus, “The Hui and the Han, two ethnic groups, mutually distort each other’s religions, and the representatives of Islam and Confucianism blindly pursue their own group’s interests against the other’s interests, therefore stirring up distrust and suspicion. That was one of the main causes for the violent fighting by Hui and Han organized forces.” Ma Anli also said,

36 Ma Zhu (馬注), *Qingzhen zhinan* (清真指南) (Xining: Qinghai renmin chubanshe, 1988).

37 Ma Dexin 馬德新, “Principal Explanation of Overt and Covert (*You ming shi yi* 幽明釋義),” in *Sidian yaohui* (四典要會) (Xining: Qinghai renmin chubanshe, 1988).

38 Ma Zhu, *Qingzhen zhinan* (清真指南) (Xining: Qinghai renmin chubanshe, 1988).

Disastrous turmoil [禍亂 really means general social disorder rather than a specific policy of moving or destroying one ethnic group] in Central Yunnan has prevailed for the past eighteen years. The factual reasons for the ethnic clashes are that Islam and Confucianism have separated from each other and have erected large social barriers that prevent their communication. These two religions have competed with each other and tried hard to promote their own side. They certainly made trouble and took revenge against each other, thus the situation became anarchic and out of control. My teacher, Ma Dexin, thoroughly understands the doctrines of the two religions, deeply acknowledges the initial reasons of the contemporary earthly affairs, hence he privately feels very sad for the bad behavior of these mediocre people and vulgar intellectuals. These people expound the ideas of Heaven with a very narrow approach and a restrictive interpretation. As the Han literati talk about Principle without relating it to God, so they treat Islam as heresy, and discard it in contempt. Meanwhile the followers of Islam usually follow a vague tradition that interprets the doctrines of Islam mechanically. They explain the meaning of Allah but do not mention Heaven. They ignore the fact that ultimately Heaven is Allah, and Allah is God. If we consider both the laws and substances of the material world and the divination of the *I Ching* (*Yijing* 易經), Heaven embraces all things in the universe. If we go beyond that to look at universal ontology, we know that Heaven is too enormous to be granted its name. So we call it Allah, explicated as the function of the Ruling Lord and not as the self-nature of Heaven (*benran zhi ti* 本然之體).³⁹

This comment serves as illustration and provocation for us to engage in dialogue and the understanding of the different civilizations of today.

In my personal opinion, Ma Dexin is a great religious scholar and a great thinker. He dedicated his life to study the Arabic classics such as the Quran and other Islamic subjects in order to search for the truth of humanity. The eight years of his *Hajj* and overseas studies in the Islamic world, along with his positive attitudes of constantly learning and researching allowed for his high attainments in Arabic and Persian languages. He even wrote books and articles in Arabic to explicate Islamic theory and tenets. Such esteemed Arabic language knowledge possessed by Ma Dexin helped him to understand principles and essentials of the Quran and *Hadith* accurately and comprehensibly. In his later years, he was very interested in Confucianism, and read many Confucian

39 See n. 34, *supra*.

classic texts. In his works such as *Sidian yaohui* (四典要會), *Dahua zonggui* (大化總歸), *Theories of the Arabic Philosophy and Destiny in Islam* (*Tianfang xing li mingyun shuo* 天方性理命運說), *Daoxing jiujiing* (道行究竟), *The Fundamental Purpose of Mind and Destiny* (*Xingming zongzhi* 性命宗旨), Ma Dexin repeatedly expounded many common points and similarities in Islam and Confucianism. In many aspects his ideas are totally in line with those explicated by Wang Daiyu, Ma Zhu and Liu Zhi, namely “the Truth in different religious traditions originate from the same source”, and there is “a linkage and connection between Islamic doctrines and Confucian creeds”. Therefore, a man can go beyond the dimensions and the confines of his own culture and spiritual thinking. If he can learn the culture of others modestly, and combine the advantages of other cultures, he will establish a bridge to cross the gap of the two different cultures by communication, and will fill the void left between the different faiths. Such a man is a noble man in personality and has a compassionate heart since he aims at serving the majority instead of serving the interests of an individual or a small social group, so his merits could benefit the majority. Resembling other great thinkers, the ideas of Ma Dexin have transcended the limitations of his time, though his great ideas might be difficult for the general public to understand. The life of Ma Dexin could be considered tragic in Yunnan society or in Chinese society, as he lived in a period of chaos and war, but Ma Dexin wanted to advise his Hui Muslim followers, “Allah does not love extremists. Do not be radical, do not do anything to break the law of Confucian society.” However, many of his followers were driven by a strong desire for revenge using violent means to kill innocent Han citizens. He also wanted to tell the Manchu imperial rulers and the Han Chinese officials of his time that Islam was not contrary to Confucianism theory, and that both religions could complement each other. The resistance of the Hui Muslims occurred because they wanted justice and the government punished those who made trouble and caused bloodshed between Hui Muslims and Han Chinese. However, the officials were so arrogant as to think that their authority could not be challenged, so they regarded the Hui who rebelled as “cunning and stubborn traitors.” The imperial authorities wanted to suppress and eliminate the Hui rebellion by all means. In such a context of tense conflict between different interest groups, it was tremendously difficult to reach a peace accord. Even if peace were to be reached it would be very hard to maintain it. Just as reality proved later on, in the corrupt, decadent and morally hypocritical society of the late Qing Dynasty, great thinkers who transgressed cultural boundaries of the era found it impossible to realize noble aims and grand wishes. In the serious confrontation incited by the imperial government between

Hui Muslims and Han Chinese, the space in which Ma Dexin could mediate and maneuver became smaller and smaller. After several setbacks he had to withdraw from the front of the stage and live in seclusion. He concentrated on writing Islamic works and on teaching in Islamic *madrasahs*. Although he knew that the likelihood of reaching peace during times of mutual Hui-Han massacres was almost zero and while his influence upon both sides to diminish the ethnic and religious confrontation decreased, he remained active so as to pay great attention to the declining situation and contemporary politics. If the chance was available or the time was ripe, he always took the entirety of the situation into account, and was concerned with the fate of his Hui Muslim followers. After the Muslim uprising led by Du Wenxiu (杜文秀) was brutally suppressed, the imperial authorities were in such fear of the enormous reputation of Ma Dexin among the Hui Muslims that they executed this old man on false charges. The religious scholar with a great heart and peace-loving mind died at the hands of imperial officials. This shows that an age or a society full of evil and chaos cannot tolerate a noble soul. When time goes on, people finally realize the light of truth. We summarize the historical lesson from the tragic story of Ma Dexin and it becomes more explicit that communication and understanding between different religions and civilizations in an unstable world are so important and that more effort is needed to maintain peace and to halt various forms of confrontation which arise just because of people's different religion and ethnicity.

Issues in the Study of Ma Dexin

Yang Guiping

Abstract

Ma Dexin (馬德新) (1794–1874 AD, courtesy name Fuchu) was a renowned Muslim *ahong* and outstanding scholar in Yunnan Province during the late Qing Dynasty who also made a pilgrimage to Mecca. He not only initiated Yunnan's mosque-based educational system, but also led the Muslim uprising in Southeast Yunnan during the Xianfeng and Tongzhi periods of the Qing Dynasty. However, he later negotiated and cooperated with the government, and devoted himself to academic activities. His Islamic works written in Arabic, Persian and Chinese made a great contribution to the dissemination and development of Muslim culture and education in China. This chapter, based on historical facts as well as some oral and written accounts, thoroughly illustrates the political and academic thoughts of Ma Dexin.

Keywords

Ma Dexin – Hui Scholar – Islam

Two notable figures directed the earthshaking events of Yunnan in the 19th Century. One is Du Wenxiu who began his life in a destitute family but later led the people of the Hui, Han, Bai and Li ethnic groups in Yunnan against Qing rule and made a page in history in his enduring 18 years of resistance. The other is Ma Dexin, who first led the people to rebel against the Qing as an intellectual,¹ but later negotiated a peaceful agreement with the Qing and succeeded. With the support of sympathetic Qing officials and peoples of Yunnan,

* Originally published in *Huizu Yanjiu* 回族研究 [Studies in Hui Nationality], Vol. 2 (2003).

1 Ma Dexin was born into a religious family. During his lifelong learning in different life stages as a student, an *ahong* teaching in a *madrasah* (also the religious head of a mosque), an *imam* and a *hajji*, he became open to more contacts with Arabic scholars, imams and others in the upper social strata. He also had multiple identities as an *ahong*, an Islamic scholar and leader.

Ma started up a *madrasah* that provided an intellectual base of multilingual exchanges that nurtured many scholars. His intellectual legacy remains in the more than forty books he wrote in Arabic, Persian and Chinese. Being national heroes, Du and Ma chose their different pathways: facing the life-and-death historical moment of Yunnan, Du chose to be “a martyr defending his Islamic faith against the Qing with his deterministic chivalry”² Ma, in contrast, chose a peaceful path of co-existence by setting aside any beliefs and courses that caused hatred and stirred revenge between peoples through rational and pragmatic means. His endeavor, for sure, fostered perpetual peace and mutual development. Despite the differences or disparities in their points of view and the means they used, they had the same goal of pursuing the *raison d'être* for the Huihui ethnicity in the course of assuring its survival and sustenance. I am not in a position to offer my judgment on which way would be the better way to foster the interests of Yunnan Muslims, as Du and Ma had their unique insights and wisdom in tackling such problems as evolved around the Panthay [Yunnan Muslim] Rebellion. In terms of the dangerous political scenarios of Yunnan rebels, Du's rebellious resolution was undoubtedly a forceful attempt to halt the unrest, but in the long run, Ma's resolution of fostering a peaceful co-existence among ethnic groups cultivated a forthcoming politically tolerant environment and allowed for Muslims' social and economic development by means of high-quality education, self-cultivation and mutual respect between nationalities.

1 The Research Question

Ma Dexin (1794–1874 AD, courtesy name Fuchu), was a renowned Muslim scholar and *ahong* who lived in the late Qing era and made a pilgrimage to Mecca. In the time of Emperor Tongzhi (1851–1874 AD), he was one of the principal leaders of the Panthay Rebellion, but later surrendered to the Qing court by a peaceful agreement. His writings were collected in more than 40 books in Arabic, Persian and Chinese and his prolificacy has contributed immensely to the present literature of Chinese Islam.

For more than a century after Ma Dexin's death, however, research on his life and works has gone almost unnoticed, due to the fact that he was a controversial figure presented in both historical archives of official documents and in the view of Muslims of his day. Was Ma a national hero, or a traitor seeking

2 Yang Huaizhong 楊懷中, *Huizushi Lungao* 回族史論稿 [A Treatise on the History of the Hui minority], (Yinchuan: Ningxia renmin chubanshe, 銀川市: 寧夏人民出版社, 1992), 42.

surrender to the Qing? Did he take a positive or negative role in Yunnan's regional security during the rules of Emperors Xianfeng and Tongzhi? How do we evaluate Ma's influence on the region and its Muslims? What were Ma's thought and their uniqueness?

In answering these questions, different scholars answer such inquires according to their own perspectives and methodologies. Notwithstanding different inquires that deal with Ma's life events, his deeds and his writings, Ma's character is construed as a multiple self that acted in different historical contexts as a multiple historical agent. In this regard, the issue of multiplicity of Ma's character can be evaluated in historical, academic and personality dimensions without much overlapping, although those dimensions do criss-cross. Still, research on such aspects of Ma is faced with a façade that has yet to be cleared by historiographical research to reveal concrete facts and reality.

Such a historical, complex construct of Ma in terms of his multiple identities and the roles he played in his life demands not only a trans-disciplinary study borrowing from politics, history, religious studies, and ethnology, but also a thorough rational, dialectical analysis that brings all the historical fragments related to Ma and his times together. In other words, this chapter aims at outlining a trans-disciplinary framework of the study of Ma Dexin's life and his historical significance in terms of a coherent construct of his thought in relation to his political life.

2 Complexity of the Issues

2.1 *The Multiple Historical Conflicts*

In the historical moment in which Ma was situated, there emerged drastic and large scale social transformations in the tug-of-war of politics, economics and military power between the East and the West as part of the process of modernisation. These transformations then triggered a multi-level conflict in terms of class, race, religion, and ethnicity that brought whirling and staggering turmoil to Yunnan. The invasion of Western imperialism shattered the tributary systems and annexations of the peripheral states and their people in their linkage to the Qing court. It further uprooted the underpinning of ethnic groups under the social fabric of such inter-state linkages by disrupting the existing web of relations and mutual influences that were built by different religious beliefs and cultures of national minorities adhering to the ruling Qing as their master. Such a web of co-existence unraveled into a nexus of conflict: the cultures and beliefs of the ruling Qing were at least in opposition to, if not totally confrontational with, the national minorities in Yunnan that made it a

herculean task for the Qing court to rule Yunnan.³ Later it would deter scholars from investigating the historical background in which Ma was situated.⁴

- 3 The Panthay Rebellion, which lasted for about 18 years, deployed the Qing troops, numbering in the millions, at great military expense. The Qing court assigned various officials to tackle the rebels, and among them Heng Chun killed himself, Pun Duo was killed, Wu Zhenjian surrendered with weapons confiscated, Zhang Liangji and Liu Yunhao were excused due to illness. Some resigned from office or excused themselves from the appointment with reasons either "learning quite well of the intricacies of the Panthay Rebellion", or "think thrice before action" as a consequence of "having prolonged anxieties due to the indecisiveness of the rebels, all the heads are completely exhausted with symptoms of hematemeses." Others were discharged, executed or killed in battle. In 1846 AD, the Yunnan-Guizhou Governor-General, He Chengling, did not resolve the Yungchang incident and shielded his deputies Yang Chaoxun and Pun Weiyang who had accepted surrender from the Muslims, such that the Emperor discharged him. Luo Tianzhi did an "internal cleansing operation" against suspected Muslim "double agents" permeating the rank and file of junior officials, and because of this Chang Tianyun killed himself for condoning such suspected spying. In the next year (1848 AD), the famous General Lin Zexu pacified the region and ended the Yungchang Incident with his deployment of 10,000 troops at a cost of 400,000 taels resulting in temporary peace. Later in 1857 AD, Ma Dexin and Ma Ruyong led the southeast Muslims to attack the capital, and quite incidentally unprepared, the General-Governor Heng Chun and his wife killed themselves. In 1857 the Yunnan Governor Shu Xing'a applied for a short period of leave from his office, and the imperial court assigned the Chief Secretary, Sang Chunrong to be the temporary replacement. Then the Qing court appointed Wu Zhenjian and Xu Zhiming to be the Yunnan-Guizhou General-Governor and the Yunnan Governor respectively. In 1858 AD, Zhang Liangji was appointed to be Yunnan Governor, but one year later, he had a disagreement with Wu Zhenjian and resigned. In 1860 AD, Liu Yuanhao was appointed as the Yunnan-Guizhou Governor-General but he stepped down from his office due to illness, and the imperial court appointed Jia Hungzhao, who deferred to take up his office and stayed in Sichuan for another year. In 1861 AD, the imperial court instead appointed Pan Duo from Hunan as the Yunnan-Guizhou General-Governor, but he was later killed by Muslim armies in 1863 AD, and the Muslims in the Yunnan capital knelt and asked for Ma Dexin to be the Governor. Twenty days after, Ma Rulong ceded the officialdom of the Yunnan Governor to Xu Zhiming and at the same time the Qing court appointed Luo Zhongguang as the Yunnan-Guizhou Governor-General till his death in 1867 AD. In his official letter to the Emperor Tongzhi, Xu wrote, "the reserve has been emptied by the constant military expenses... with deployed troops constantly disbanded... in our circumstances ridden by wars and other disasters, I have contracted hematemeses. All military maneuvers are, at all times and in all places, thorny in Yunnan. I, your humblest servant, work all day in official documents and stay at the front gate-tower of the provincial capital all night. I was totally exhausted in fulfilling all the duties of Your Majesty's wish, but never forgetting Your Majesty's grace." Xu died in 1863, the Second Year of Emperor Tongzhi.
- 4 There has been much discussion in numerous historical accounts about Ma and other scholars concerning the controversy to avoid open debate over endless and yet fruitless conflicts.

Even so, the causes of the Panthay Rebellion are more complicated and multi-layered, though most scholars single out the following main causes, namely: the Qing oppression of Yunnan Muslims (from the rank and file to officials), accompanied by Han conscripts of the Qing army (*tuanlian*) massacring Muslims caused, in part, by the monopolist seizing of coal mines by Han and Hui. Worse still, the Qing court had no consistent approach to deal with such conflicts and bloodshed. In the beginning of the rebellion, the emperor ordered troops to “cleanse” the rebels, but later the Qing court did not take control of the region and attempted to modify its policy with “carrot-and-stick” tactics to pacify both the rebellious Han and Hui. The result was that the southeastern part of Yunnan surrendered to the court, but the western part, led by Du Wenxiu, was totally defiant to the pacifying terms and conditions offered by the Qing. Then the pacifying policy was adjusted to a “divide-and-conquer” tactic in which the “pacified” southeastern Muslims were set against the “defiant” western Muslims. The policy shift created camps of officials to deal with the Panthay Rebellion. The “hawks,” represented by Shu Xing’a and Shen Yüying, staunchly supported a “scorched-earth” policy in dealing with Muslim rebels; the “doves,” represented by Wu Zhenjian, Zhang Liangjie and others, opted for the softer approach of seeking negotiations. Additionally, there were a few opportunists with no principles, like Xu Zhiming, who always stood with the strong and persecuted the camp they considered weak. What is more, the rebellious forces against Qing oppression were organized in their locales, thus making a mosaic of variant means of resistance and union. Included in this mosaic were followers of Du Wenxiu, the staunchest martyr to the end, who fought with all his effort against the Qing, and those of leaders like Ma Dexin and Ma Rulong who were willing to negotiate and compromise while still retaining local forces sufficient enough for counter-attacks. These locally organized forces maintained Muslims’ interests. Promoted by the Qing as a field marshal, Ma Rulong later proved to be a defector who fought against his former Muslim brothers and became a main force in pacifying the Muslim rebels.⁵

5 Ma Dexin strongly and consciously discerned the disastrous consequences of the terrible suffering of Muslims when those he was leading rebelled staunchly and uncompromisingly against the Qing state-machine. Instead he approached Du Wenxiu in letters and by person and proposed a union of the west and the southeast Yunnan Muslims in collaboration with the Qing court, but Du decisively refused what Ma had proposed. Upon refusal, Ma led the Qing representative, General Yang Zhenpeng, back to his camp and conferred the Qing official title to Ma Rulong.

2.2 *The Multi-Dimensions of Social Practices*

His early education in a *madrasah* gave Ma Dexin a traditional set of Islamic values, and he became interested in the *Han Kitab* (*Hanjing* 漢經, sometimes called the Sino-Muslim canon) and Confucian classics. Later, he was impressed and inspired by Islamic civilization and his sense of urgency for Huihui, his own ethnicity, was provoked during his eight-year journey in the Islamic world. His journey cast hope on, and made him confident in, the future religious development he envisioned. His deep self-cultivation as a *hajji* (someone who has undertaken the Hajj pilgrimage) and a Confucian follower generated his wisdom and rationality when dealing with multi-ethnic conflicts. He not only opposed the steadfast martyrdom and self-sacrifice advocated by Du Wenxiu, but also cursed Ma Rulong as a betrayer defecting to the Qing court and slaughtering his once-allied Muslim brothers. At the critical moment of the alliance with the Han conscripts, when local Qing officials and gentry gathered and massacred local Muslim inhabitants, Ma unswervingly mobilized the aggrieved Muslims to fight back, and intelligently made use of those local officials' intolerance of the illegal conscription of Han soldiers. Thus Qing officials gave way to Muslims by offering certain rank-and-file position to them. This tactic played by Ma not only balanced the burgeoning influence of Han on Yunnan affairs, but also retained certain military and taxation capacities in pursuit of political and economic interest of the Hui in a way that fostered regional stability. When Qing officials and Han conscripts joined together to fight the Hui, Ma Dexin and Ma Rulong sent and led their armies to encircle the regional capital of Yunnan and forced the Qing officials to change their policy and go back to the negotiating table for perpetual stability. Furthermore, Ma Dexin tried to convince Du Wenxiu to give up any longstanding confrontation with the Qing troops who greatly outnumbered Muslim rebels,⁶ but in the end

6 In 1863 AD, the Yunnan-Guizhou Governor-General Pan Duo ordered Ma Rulong to purge the opposing force in Jianshui led by Liang Shimei. Pan sent another battalion led by the commander-in-chief, Yang Chengzhong, to support Ma Rulong, but in fact he ordered Yang to eliminate Ma's remaining forces after the battle with Liang in order to pacify all the rebel Muslim forces in the southeast and the capital. Facing another crisis of the southeast, Ma Rulong learned of Pan's plot against him from the Yunnan General Xu Zhiming (who had defected to the Hui after the second round of negotiations), he steadfastly sent troops, led by Ma Rong of Wuding Regiment, to the capital and killed Pan and other Qing officials involved in the plot. In order to retain law and order in the capital, Ma Dexin consented to be the temporary Governor-General. See *Daqing lichao shilu* 大清歷朝實錄 [*The Detailed Chronicles of the Great Qing Dynasty*], (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 北京: 中華書局, 1985–1987) scroll 62, 27–30. On March 4 1863 AD, the commander-in-chief of Wuding Regiment, Ma Rong, under the order of the General Imam Ma Dexin, led a battalion of two thousand men to patrol the

failed. After Du's rejection of his negotiation plans, Ma anticipated the following by conducting a series of counteracting military operations against Qing attacks: when the Qing task force headed West intending to eliminate Du's force, Ma Dexin ordered Ma Rulong and Ma Rong from the southeast to attack and occupy certain military vantage points previously controlled by the Qing armies, even ambushing the Qing forces. As Qing officials and Han conscripts regrouped their forces against the Muslims again, Ma Dexin stayed cool and plotted against the hawk camp of Qing officials, who later stepped down from their authority, solving the crisis of Han-Hui conflict. After the negotiations with Qing officials, however, Ma Dexin realized that he could no longer assist the further development of the Panthay Rebellion, resigned from his office and concentrated on his writings. His move permitted another attempt to resolve the Han-Hui conflicts by means of words and persuasions, not by force. His energy gives a strong sense of the common ground for both Confucianism and Islam in light of moral self-restraint in search of goodness, but he never gave up his minimal role as a mediator between different Muslim populations in the West and in the Southeast.

2.3 *The Multiple Roles of Ma Dexin*

Being an *ahong*, a scholar and a religious leader, Ma Dexin dealt with different issues and problems. Knowing himself as a beloved *ahong* to the Muslims and an imam well versed in the Quran, Ma also knew well his ordained duty as a protector of Islam. And he certainly knew the righteousness of military rebellions as self-defense when both Qing officials and Han conscripts

outskirts of Kunming, the capital of Yunnan, and took the vantage points at Wuhua College and other temples seven days before. Ma Rong sent messengers to Pan and cajoled him to abandon the plot, but Pan unswervingly refused. Later on that day, Pan and his deputy Huang Peilin were killed, and Ma Dexin was named as the Governor-General of Yunnan-Guizhou after Pan. In one historical record, it reads, during "the upheaval of Ma Rong in 1863 AD, Ma Dexin stood on the side of Xu Zhiming, and plotted against Pan Duo who planned to eliminate Ma Rulong thereby uprooting the base of his rebellious Muslim supporters in the capital (Kunming), as Ma Rulong had been ordered to cleanse the forces of Deputy General Liang Shimei based in Jianshui. Ma Dexin then sent a troop led by Ma Rong of Wuding Regiment marching towards Kunming and subsequently Pan Duo was killed. Ma Dexin replaced Pan as the Governor-General of Yunnan-Guizhou. See Jing Dexin 荆德新 (ed.) *Yunnan Huimin qiyi shiliao* 云南回民起义史料 [Historical Documentations on the Hui Revolts] (Kunming shi: Yunnan minzu chubanshe, 昆明市: 云南民族出版社, 1986), 11. The author considers all these historical accounts to lack sufficient proof and verification. The conflict-collaboration nature of the relation between Ma Dexin and Ma Rulong is oversimplified by the above conclusions with inconvenient facts and incoherent inference.

brutally slaughtered innocent Muslims—his intent was to do the right thing at the right time. Being an elite Muslim, he had no reason to withdraw from his duties to protect Islam and the Muslims, but he deeply conceived of being faced with and destined by the impending external forces and internal unrest and knew that to withstand this, the Yunnan Muslims must have a strong leadership. In his view, the key for Yunnan Muslims lay in a strong leadership that would uphold perpetual stability in support of a synarchy with the Qing Yunnan government protecting the Muslims in return for maintaining regional security, mutual recognition and co-existence, and collaborating with the Qing in religious, national, and political matters. It is undeniable that his tactics, in line with his thought, were progressive and far from any decision of aggressive sedition or passive surrender. But the more sophisticated of Ma's tactics included his half-hearted reliance on the protection of the Qing court that he knew was not thoroughly committed to a fair and equal policy to rule the diverse ethnic groups of the region. Muslim reliance on Qing rule, Ma reckoned, was an ideal without any practical considerations and would not halt the tragedy. Ma's approach to Qing policy on Yunnan was a mixed one in which he organized military resistance on the one hand, and bridged Islam and Confucianism in an attempt to seek a peaceful relation between Hui and Han, on the other. To recapitulate Ma's tactics, he was opposed to any violent maneuvers against Muslims and worked to protect them. He collaborated with the Qing, albeit with his principles intact, in protecting his Muslim people. He also opposed Ma Rulong, who finally turned against his Muslim brothers. Despite disagreeing with his martyrdom, Ma Dexin helped Du Wenxiu in the latter's upheavals in west Yunnan. Being faced with complex and ever-changing scenarios and playing with different friends and foes, Ma was very strategic in tackling them, and the variety of his practices seemingly deviated from his consistence of thought.

2.4 *Ma Dexin: A Complex and Antagonistic Character*

At the early stage of the Panthay Rebellion, the Qing court treated Ma Dexin as an insurgent leader. Later, as Ma Dexin expressed his wish to submit to the Qing, the imperial court became reconciled with Ma as having rebelled for the sake of "revenge," pardoned and promoted him by offering him the official titles such as "Beg in the Fourth Rank," then "Beg in the Second Rank," and "the General Imam of Yunnan." The Qing recognized the importance of Ma Dexin in maintaining regional stability. The official Qing history depicted Ma as "a man knowing his righteous principles," as "an enabler keeping the order of Islam," and "a holy figure." Some dissenting historians painted Ma in black, describing him as "the bandit leader," "the villain"; Muslims evaluated Ma with different

opinions. Some would say he was surely the protector of southeast Yunnan; others were discontented at Ma's surrender to the Qing; and even a small fraction of the Muslims called Ma a traitor who was unforgivable, or named him as "the beheading killer of the Dadongkou Muslim insurrection who murdered the Jahriyya upheaval." Most of these opinions and evaluations are incomprehensible, disreputable, emotional, inauthentic and concept-biased. The analysis of Ma and his biography has been guided towards the logic of dialectical oppositions to blind, indoctrinating criticisms or a manifestation of a "pre-given" class position assigned to Ma that restricts a convincing historical analysis not only bounded by his times, but also the times where later historians evaluate and criticize him. Even worse, some historians mingled Ma's original thought with the mainstream intellectual traditions of his times, thus making a bias out of a fair, objective, analysis of and judgment on Ma Dexin's thought and his historical practices. Both the standpoint of the Qing or the Han landlord class in 19th Century Yunnan and the perspective of extreme-leftist academic evaluations in the mid-twentieth Century neglected the entanglements of Ma and his biography in the complexity of the historical events surrounding the Panthay Rebellion. The "leftist" ideology guiding an analysis as such definitely diverts academic research from its autonomy of independence and objectivity. Such a diversion under ideological manipulation begets single-minded judgments and one-dimensional thought with a specific historical temporal and political stance that does not provide a sufficient explanation of history, a sufficient course to guide human action, nor allow the unfolding of Ma's complex thought on politics and academic life, nor illustrate the complex courses of society, ethnicities and religious relations during Ma's times.

3 Conclusion: Nationalities Viewed in Practical, Religions in Rational, and Cultures in All-Embracing Perspectives through the Eyes of Ma Dexin

In conclusion, as we conceive of Ma Dexin, his thought and his actions reveal his personal resilience in viewing nationalities in practical terms; religions in rational terms; and cultures with an all-embracing point of view. He had a personality combining orthodox Islamic thoughts and Confucian philosophy of *Zhongyong* (中庸 middle way), as the heart of his historical practices. Disseminating his treatise as grounded, rational and practical, he was still critical of the society in which he was situated without prejudgments and biases; he stressed cultural uniqueness and multi-national exchange but opposed

chauvinism; he advocated religious pluralism but opposed ethnic extremism. Throughout his political and academic life, Ma sought a peaceful way of life and coexistence between the Islamic and mainstream Confucian cultures. Negotiating and collaborating with the Qing court, he believed that agreement, not war, would bear the fruit of peace and security that would protect Yunnan Muslims and their interests; and he also believed that, despite the tremendous influences of Confucianism, Islam also retained its unique features, its spirit and its values. In his prolific academic writings, Ma tried hard to find the roots of conflicts between the Hui and the Han,⁷ and thereby sought ways to reconcile between them in order to sustain peaceful relations. On the one hand, Ma advocated the core Islamic thought as a way to compensate for what had been deficient in Confucianism; on the other, while urging for a call for Muslims to preserve core Islamic traditions and thought, Ma put equal emphasis upon Muslims respecting Confucianism as the mainstream in Chinese thought. Ma's positions on his religious discourses exhibit the antithetical internal unity and inconsistency in terms of national differences and the conflicts shown above.

7 Ma Anli (馬安禮) wrote in the preface of *Zhutian dazanjijie*, translated by Ma Dexin, "the cause of the bloody eighteen-year Panthay Rebellion is attributed to the conflicts between Islam and Confucianism. Neither tolerated, but took revenge against, the other, a situation that developed, non-stop, into turmoil. My teacher, Fuchu (Ma Dexin), knew the deep-rooted causes of this conflict through his deep understanding of both religions. He refuted the superficial views held by close-minded Confucians that they conceived of the oneness in Islam as a formalistic expression of things, and the way to Allah as a nihilistic conception. Such misconceptions position Islam as heresy (and Confucianism as the mainstream). Deplorably, Muslims followed what the Confucians conceived of and said about Islam, and abandoned what Allah said in His true words. They followed the Confucians fearing Heaven... Because of these misconceptions about Islam, my teacher, Fuchu, clarified Islam in Allah's own words from what these Confucians have said of it. By correcting the true believers' misconceptions taken from these Confucians, and believing in the true God they are able to distinguish between the Neo-Confucian formalistic concept of Heaven in which they had superficially believed, and the abstracted oneness of Heaven that they truly believe." Author's note: the explanations of Mohammad and other principles were written by Ma Dexin, and Ma Luanyuan reprinted Liu Zhi's *Tianfang sanzijing* 天方三字經 [*The Basic Texts of Islam*] (Hefei: Hunagshan Shushe, 合肥: 黃山書社, 2005), with a continued section after Liu's is Ma Dexin's writings. See Ma Dexin, *Zhutian dazan jijie* 祝天大贊集解 [*Annotated Explanations to Shahadah*], translated by Ma Anli 馬安禮 (Yinchuan Shi: Ningxia renmin chubanshe, 銀川市: 寧夏人民出版社, 2008).

It is undeniable that Ma's prolific writings have exerted tremendous influence on Chinese Islam. These include original and translated works introducing Islamic doctrine, the *shariah* (the system of religious laws that Muslims follow), astronomy, calendar calculations, geography and Arabic grammar, altogether interpreted through the pre-understanding of Confucianism that satisfied the demand of the Chinese intelligentsia becoming interested in the *Han Kitab*. His writings were then circulated among Chinese mandarins, thus fostering cultural exchanges between Islam and Chinese and eventually gaining their mutual cultural recognition. Not only are his Arabic and Persian writings the standard texts in *madrasahs* in several regions of China, responsible for cultivating a new stratum of *ahong*, but they also extended the influence of Chinese Islam overseas.

Looking from a different angle, Ma's biography shows that he played a key role in local politics in Yunnan. He protected his Muslim followers, proactively negotiated and collaborated with the Qing court, and led his Muslim followers, not out of self-interest or for wealth and honor, but as a kind of political brinkmanship that utilized negotiations and accepted collaboration because Ma believed they were a viable choice for Muslims facing the Qing at a numerical disadvantage. He won over both sides of the national conflict in a way that partly ended the persistent wars in the Panthay Rebellion. After 1863 AD, Ma bade farewell to politics and devoted the rest of his life to writing, though his solitary work was not undertaken due to ostracism from his social reality. His writings illuminate clear ways to this-worldly salvation, with a historical context that found a way out of the conflicts between Han and Hui. Ma saw through the unreasonable institutions that were rooted in rapacity and desire that took advantage of the cultural differences between Han and Hui as an excuse for the waging of wars and commission of massacres. Ma's writing, in emotional language, castigated the unfair political system and revealed the injustice and corruption of the society; he sounded his religious call for moral conscience with his treatise of encouraging people to be virtuous with the vision of Heaven and preventing greed and brutality with terror of the fires of hell, consoling the aggrieved and the dead, saving the souls of the innocent and consoling the hopeless in their despair about the eternal end. Ma, an audacious, determined, and lonely writer who retained his faith in Islam, dovetailed his interpretations of Confucian thinking in a way that delimited the Confucian worldview, and eradicated the barriers between Islam and Confucianism and between Han and Hui nations in search of a healthy environment of co-existence. In a nutshell, Ma's contributions to the history of his times are undisputable. Notwithstanding Ma's aforementioned merit, his inability to understand the cunning of the Qing's *realpolitik* relative to territorial politics contributed

substantially to part of the root cause of Muslim suffering in Yunnan, hence Ma failed to maneuver and to resist Qing oppression by more powerful measures. This shortcoming allowed for no other historical alternative than to accept the tragic consequences of the Panthay Rebellion. That is the fate of Ma and his Yunnan Muslims shown by the limits of history.

4 Research Methods and Literature Reviews

I contend that research on the life and history of Ma Dexin is based upon facts constructed by objective methods utilized in the study of history. Through an analysis of such facts, a historical reality about Ma is then objectively constructed. The key of such an analysis lies in the historical facts produced in texts that are put in context, and undoubtedly making sense of a historical analysis of Ma's life and history requires putting it in the context of the macro-history of social transformations among the Hui and Chinese Islam before and after the Panthay Rebellion. This is done by examining various sources of historical materials from official documents of the Qing Dynasty and private accounts of Qing officials, to civic records by Muslims and grass-root scholars. This examination tries to depict a whole picture, historically, of what Ma did and how he was depicted in different perspectives from the different positions of these sources. The analysis of such materials serves as an objective base and helps later historians to precisely evaluate Ma's merits and demerits according to these veritable facts. In order to perform such an analytic task, the written styles and formats of the chapter require one to (1) rely upon historical facts with no ornaments or flattery and an aim toward fairness and objectivity; (2) triangulate official documents with oral history and other written texts, such as testimonies, by taking trans-disciplinary perspectives, neither purely subjective nor purely objective; (3) take historical figures as key foci of analyses by revealing their "internal selves" through their narration of events and action; and (4) base the analysis on the key figures' writings as deep reflections on their thought.

Until now there has been no comprehensive collection introducing Ma Dexin's life and his thought.⁸ Experts on Chinese Islam, like Bai Shouyi, Na Zhong, Ma Yüyun, Na Guochang have written quite a number of introductory

8 You Guoliang 姚國梁, *Ma Fuchu, Du Wenxiu zhuan* 馬復初, 杜文秀傳 (internal publication). N.p: n.p., n.d.

essays on Ma Dexin.⁹ As regards the Panthay or (Du Wenxiu) Rebellion, please refer to a couple of articles written by Bai Shouyi and others,¹⁰ and a list of Ma Dexin's own works is a core reference to his academic thought.¹¹

- 9 Pin San 聘三, "Ma Fuchu xiansheng shile 馬復初先生事略", *Qingzhen debao* 清真鐸報 4, (1929); 白壽彝 Bai Shouyi, "Ma Dexin 馬德新", *Zhongguo Mushilin* 中國穆斯林 [*Chinese Muslim*] 4 (1983); Liang Duojun 梁多俊, Dong Shaoyu 董紹禹, "Jinxiandai Yunnan Huizu sange zhuming xuejie—Ma Fuchu, Ma Luanyuan, Ma Jian, 近現代雲南回族三個著名學者—馬復初, 馬聯元, 馬堅", *Minzutuanjie* 民族團結 [*National Solidarity*] Vol. 4 (1983); Na Zhong 納忠, "Yunnan Musilin xuejie dui Yishilianjiao de xueshu gongxian 雲南穆斯林學者對伊斯蘭教的學術貢獻" *Zhongguo Musilin* 中國穆斯林 [*Chinese Muslim*] 1 (1986); Ma Yüyun 馬汝雲, "Ma Fuchu de dahua zhonggui 馬復初的 '大化總歸'" *Zhongguo Mushilin* 中國穆斯林 [*Chinese Muslim*] 1 (1986); 納國昌 Na Guochang, "Ma Fuchu de zhutian dazan, 馬復初的 '祝天大贊,'" *Minzu diaocha yanjiu* 民族調查研究 [*Nationality Field Surveys*] 1 (1991); Na Guochang 納國昌, "近代最早出洋的中國科學家," *Minzu diaocha yanjiu* 民族調查研究 [*Nationality Field Surveys*] 1 (1991); Lin Changkuan 林長寬, "Sange jiechu Yunnan Hanxue Yishilian xuejie 三個傑出雲南漢學伊斯蘭學者," *Minzu diaocha yanjiu* 民族調查研究 [*Nationality Field Surveys*] 1 (1991).
- 10 Bai Shouyi 白壽彝, *Huimin Qiyi* 回民起義 [*Hui Revolts*], *Yunnan Huimin qiyi shiliu* 雲南回民起義史料 [*Historical Documentations on Hui Revolts*], Qingshilu Mushilin zhiliu 清實錄穆斯林資料輯錄 [*Selected Historical Documentations on Hui in The Detailed Chronicles of the Great Qing Dynasty*]; Emili Rocher 阿米列·羅舍, *Qingji Yunnan Huibao qiyi shimo* 清季雲南回部起義始末 [*The Beginning and the End of the Hui Revolts in the late Qing Dynasty*], Beijing: Beijing shi fan da xue shi xue yan jiu suo Hui zu ren wu zhi bian xie zu, 1986.
- 11 Yang, Guiping 楊桂萍, *Ma Dexin sixiang yanjiu* 馬德新思想研究 [*Ma Dexin: Research on His Thought*] (Beijing: Zongjiao wenhua chubanshe, 2004, 北京市: 宗教文化出版社, 2004).

Section 5



Basic Characteristics of Islam in Northwest China

Ma Tong

Abstract

This chapter focuses on an extensive survey of different Islamic sects in China. The survey shows that before the Ming Dynasty there was only one Islamic sect called qadim (*Gedimu* 格底木), or “old religion.” But after the late Qing, Gedimu, Yiheiwani (依黑瓦尼) and Xi Dao Tang (西道堂) emerged and they comprised the three main Islamic sects. Sufism, meanwhile, became popular in China from the late Ming and early Qing. It adapted to Chinese feudalism and incorporated other sects, such as Khafiyya, Jahriyya, Qadiriyya, and Kubrawiyya Sufi orders with subdivisions of up to forty or more branches. This chapter gives an outlying sketch of these sects in terms of their history in China and their religious characteristics.

Keywords

Islam in China – Religious Sects – Menhuan

Before the Ming Dynasty, qadim was the only Islamic sect in China. In the late Qing, however, Yiheiwani (伊黑瓦尼) and Xi Dao Tang (西道堂) became well received and circulated. They are considered the three major Islamic sects in China. Sufism, meanwhile, was introduced and became popular in China beginning in the late Ming and the early Qing, when it adapted to Chinese feudalism and included other sects such as Khafiya, Jahriyya, Qadiriyya, and Kubrawiyya Sufi orders with subdivisions of forty or more branches.

Notwithstanding their differences in their names, these sects and *menhuan* (門宦) laid their foundations on the principles and doctrines of the Quran: the “six cardinal beliefs” (belief in Allah, angels, *Hadith* (a text containing sayings

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of Muhammad and descriptions of his daily life, used by Muslims as a spiritual guide), prophets, predestination and the afterlife); the “five obligations (or pillars),” namely recitation, ritual, fasting, lessons, and *Hajj* (the annual pilgrimage to Mecca). All of the believers of these sects and *menhuan* are Sunnis. The differences between these sects and *menhuan* reside on different interpretations in the annotated explications of the Quran and *Fiqh al-Sunnah* in terms of their different emphases on principles and practices in *shariah*.

The major differences, first and foremost, between the Islamic sects and the *menhuan*, is distinguished by their different interpretations and emphases of particular texts in the Quran and *Hadith* that imply distinctive features in their doctrines and religious practices. Furthermore, *menhuan* has a slightly specific semantic difference with sect as the former emphasizes the lineage and descent through generations of religious leaders in a particular sect. Second, these sects do not have a tight structure in their organization, but base their core activities in their mosques; mosques themselves have no direct connections and subordinations with each other; *menhuan*, on the other hand, have a hierarchy beginning, from the top to the bottom, with sheikh, *murshid* (*Muleshide* 穆勒師德), then, below the leaders were *ra’is* (religious leaders), *khalifas* (meaning “successor” or “steward,” which most commonly refer to the leader of a Caliphate), *ahong* (阿訇) who open schools, and other lower ranks. With the exception of Xi Dao Tang, all the *menhuan* allow and advocate adherents who worship at the shrine (*gongbei* 拱北) of their deceased religious saints.

1 Three Major Sects

1.1 *Gedimu*

Gedimu is the earliest recorded Chinese Islam. By the 18th Century, Gedimu emerged from a series of religious movements, and to distinguish it from other Islamic sects it was called “Qadim,” or “old religion.” Because Northwest adherents of Gedimu start fasting after Salat-‘Asr [the afternoon prayer], the sect has also been called “breaking-fast-afternoon.”

Traditionally, Gedimu was the most widespread and dominant sect in China and was the foundation of early Chinese Islam. After the appearance of Yiheiwani and Xi Dao Tang, the number of adherents of Gedimu declined but the sect still kept its dominant status.

Gedimu follows the traditional Sunni teachings, the basic doctrine of which is “to know Allah from the scriptures.” In terms of its denomination, Gedimu belongs to the Hanafi Faction of Sunniism, requires all believers to adhere to

the six cardinal beliefs and the five pillars as described above, and views sitting meditation as only a secondary practice.

Gedimu often uses a mosque as a base for educational purposes, with no branches or subsidiaries. No Gedimu mosques are subordinated to any others and they are all independent. The early organization of a Gedimu mosque before the Ming Dynasty was led and managed by three different persons, namely an elderly sheikh, a magistrate in civil matters (or *qadi*) and a Muslim granted official status by the imperial court who managed the settlement, customs and immigration of Muslims (*fanzhang* 蕃長). After the Ming Dynasty, Gedimu mosques were led by an *imam*, a *qadi*, and a *muezzin*. After the later Qing, the organization was then led by a “Kaixue ahong” (開學阿訇, or *akhund*, the religious teacher at college or university level in *madrasah*-based education) and his deputy, a board of directors of the mosque and representative elders. The board of directors had the legitimate authority to manage the daily affairs of the ahong and his deputy.

Gedimu respected orthodoxy, or the old teachings, piously followed the established rules, opposed the unconventional, and paid attention to rituals in precise detail. Meanwhile, its development became integrated with the dominant Han culture, especially Confucianism, the major elements of which had been taken into doctrines of Gedimu and its principles of practice.

Moreover, Gedimu preserved a tolerant attitude, as upheld by the School of Hanafi, toward other sects. Gedimu, in their stance, opposed worship at *gongbei*, but they did not ban their adherents from practicing it, nor did they comment on the practices of other sects and *menhuan*; instead they did not take sides on these practices in any religious disputes, no matter whether those disputes were verbal or physical. It is indubitable that Gedimu was considered the most moderate sect among others in Chinese Islam.

1.2 *Yiheiwani*

Yiheiwani means “brotherhood in the same religious tie.” Generally called the “new religion,” followers were considered reformists. It was founded in the 1890s in Hezhou (河州) (now Linxia, Gansu).

The founder of the Yiheiwani, Ma Wanfu (馬萬福) (1849–1934), also known as Nuhai (奴海), was a Dongxiang (東鄉) native with his origin in Guoyuan Village (果園村), Dongxiang County (東鄉縣) in Hezhou. He was nicknamed the “Hajji of the Guoyuan.” Originally taking the duty of an *ahong* of the Beizhuang (北莊) *menhuan*, he could read and speak Persian and Arabic and became a well-known cleric.

In 1888 AD, Ma Wanfu made the *Hajj* pilgrimage, where he was influenced by the Wahhabi movement. He returned home and endeavored to bring the

Wahhabi religious ideas to realization. He then met with the ten most notable ten *ahongs* in Hezhou and founded the Yiheiwani. Yiheiwani brothers advocated the basis of religious faith on the *Hadith*, thereby reforming secular affairs by criticizing them as “heresies”. Yiheiwani brothers set out ten commandments: (1) no collective recitations of the Quran but rather reciting it individually while other attendants are listening; (2) no loud recitations; (3) no excessive *du'a* (*duwa* 都哇, invocation of God, prayer); (4) no worship in front of *gongbei* (*qubba* or shrines); (5) no collective recitations of *tawba* (*taobai* 討白, repentance from sins); (6) no commemoration of the dates of death for ancestors; (7) no giving the Quran (with money or other valuable things inside) as a gift to the poor by the mourning family, as a redemption for the dead; (8) never practicing *amal* (*ermali* 爾麥里, charitable work, good deeds, but often among Sufis a donation made to the chief of their order) or *tatawwu* (*tetuanwoer* 特團沃爾, voluntary service); (9) urging the simplified practices as set out in the *Fiqh al-Sunnah*; and (10) no adherent was allowed to do *amal* on behalf of others when congregating or during funerals. The religious practices that they advocated did convert many into the Yiheiwani tradition and its adherents then grew in numbers. Later, the Yiheiwani put forward their slogan, “beat *menhuan* and overthrow *gongbei*” and “unite *menhuan* and sects (by the Yiheiwani).” This instantly infuriated other sects and *menhuan* who staunchly opposed the Yiheiwani advocates. Under such circumstances, Ma Wanfu fled from Hezhou to Hami (哈密), Xinjiang, in 1908. Later, in 1915, he was imprisoned because of his preaching of Ikhwan to the Uyghurs, but later released after a large bribe was paid to related officials. The Governor-General of Xinjiang, Yang Zengxin (楊增新), agreed to guard Ma Wanfu on the way to Gansu for further “treatment.” On his way to Gansu, Ma Qi (馬麒), a military general from Linhai (寧海), intercepted and escorted Ma Wanfu to Xining.

Ma Qi's escorting of Ma Wanfu was really a cover for a political plot. Ma Qi made use of Ma Wanfu for the cause of religio-political extremism to uproot forces opposing him in Qinghai. His plot had common interest with what Ma Wanfu advocated, “the unification of all *menhuan* and sects.” After his return in Xining, Ma Wanfu was made the head of the Dongguan Mosque for a long tenure, and his political advocacy was fully supported by Ma Qi and his father Ma Bufang (馬步芳). Adherence to Yiheiwani became mandatory in Xining. This eventually intensified the rivalry among all concerned sects, which were set on the brink of rioting. For example, a fight among street workers in Xunhua (循化) in 1923, resulted in more than sixty casualties; The Incident of Wangbaihu (汪百戶事件, in which the masses of Dongxiang resisted the rule of the Kuomintang Nationalists) in 1940, moreover, resulted in a death toll of more than 150.

Under the support of Ma Qi and Ma Bufang, Yiheiwani built its prestigious foundation in Gansu and Qinghai in the 1940s. Meanwhile, with the firm support of Ma Hongkui (馬鴻逵), a general in Ningxia, Yiheiwani built its power base and became a dominant Islamic sect in China.

The basic features of Yiheiwani are “respecting the *Hadith*, reforming the secular and opposing heresy.” The root of Yiheiwani’s philosophy is “knowing Allah as oneness”, and it argues that ritual formalism, such as worship, shrines, prostrations to humans, etc., infringes on and profanes the holy oneness of Allah, and destroys one’s faith in Islam. It stipulates that the five tenets are necessary for belief in Islam. Yiheiwani were originally organized in individual, separate units, but later these units were then reshuffled under unified management.

After Ma Wanfu’s death in 1934, Yiheiwani cleaved in two: one division was led by Gasu Hajj, and was called the “Su sect.” It preached and followed fundamental principles and gathered a majority group of former adherents from Yiheiwani. The other, the “Bai sect”, was led by Ahong Ma Debao (馬德寶) of Gabaizhuang (尕白莊) who revised the original fundamental principles. “Su sect” adherents always raise their arms once in prayer congregations; whereas “Bai sect” adherents do so three times. In the 1970s, the “Bai sect” was renamed as al-Salafiya (*Sailaifeiye* 賽萊菲耶), meaning those who uphold the ancient tradition or source of Islam).

1.3 *Xi Dao Tang*

Xi Dao Tang was founded in the 20th Century and became known as the “Han Kitab sect” because it based its doctrines on famous Chinese scholars who studied Islamic scriptures, such as Liu Zhi (劉智) who used Confucian thoughts and pedagogy to preach Islam.

The founder of Xi Dao Tang, Ma Qixi (馬啟西) (1857–1914), was living in Lintan (臨潭) in Gansu. He started reading and learning Chinese classics, and studied under a famous Confucian master, Fan Shengwu (范繩武), who deeply influenced Ma’s later academic career. Ma Qixi passed the imperial examinations at the village and prefectural levels and was granted the degree of *xiuca* (秀才) (an outstanding honor for scholars) by imperial decree. Unlike other *xiuca* who tried their luck at official positions, Ma instead deepened his knowledge of various Chinese classics and became well versed in the *Han Kitab* and writings by Wang Daiyu (王岱輿), Ma Zhu (馬注), Liu Zhi etc., with fruitful results. With an exhaustive knowledge of most Chinese classics and the *Han Kitab*, he edited and wrote annotations of the latter, including *Qingzhen Daxue* (清真大學), *Qingzhen Zhinan* (清真指南) and *Tianfang dianli* (天方典禮) etc. Ma founded a private college in 1891 AD, and often taught

lessons in the morning and silent meditation in the afternoon. After being well prepared in religious thought, he began to write and lecture. His popularity made other *ahong* envious; therefore he was expelled from the Beizhuang *menhuan*. He left Beizhuang and founded his own *menhuan*. After several years spent raising funds, he built a new mosque and proclaimed himself as the founder of Xi Dao Tang.

The basic beliefs of Xi Dao Tang are “knowing Allah as the only one” (*tawhid*), “obeying Allah and following Muhammad the Saint,” taking the Quran and other *Hadith* as the primary texts in Islam, and ordering disciples and believers to practice the five pillars in Islam. The specific feature of Xi Dao Tang was to concretize the writings of Liu Zhi and other *Han Kitab* writers and incorporate them into its religious practices, taking the rituals of other sects also into account as references. Xi Dao Tang practiced the rites that were the same as those of the Qadim, and shared many similarities in terms of rites, and the practice of vocal *dhikr* (remembrance, reminder, or evocation).

The religious organization of Xi Dao Tang featured the characteristics of other *menhuan*—a centralized religious body with the power concentrated in the hands of the religious leader who was legitimized as a ruling figure both in religious leadership and in management of the daily affairs of the group.

There were two different household formations to which adherents of Xi Dao Tang belonged, namely collective and individual. Collective households were centered around the teaching hall (*Daotang* 道堂) in Lintan, whereas the individual households were sparsely scattered around Gansu, Qinghai, Xinjiang and Sichuan provinces.

The economic structure of Xi Dao Tang was a mixed economy with feudal agricultural production and mercantilism. Other economic activities included trade, agriculture, farming and other secondary occupations. *Daotang* had the authority to unify the standards of trade, to manage, and to re-allocate purchased commodities to each household. Specialized departments, each usually headed by a manager oversaw all the operatives with assigned personnel for sections below the departmental level.

The Xi Dao Tang was both a religious sect and a socio-economic organization. From its foundation to its decline, Xi Dao Tang underwent different stages in three periods, and was ruled by three different religious leaders.

The first period started from the foundation of Xi Dao Tang to Ma Qixi being persecuted (1902–1914). After its foundation, Xi Dao Tang simplified the details of religious rituals, then cut excessive expenses, changed local customs, required no compulsory recitation for children; and allowed men and women equal rights to receive education. Such changes attracted more and more converts to Xi Dao Tang, with their properties and possessions

collectively held. Running by this principle of communal ownership of properties in fact generated revenue and this successful model of collective ownership thereby fostered the dissemination of Xi Dao Tang and its promotion of Ma Qixi, whose prestige reached a new height. Later, the Hui warlord Ma Anliang (馬安良) attempted to ally with Ma Qixi to attack the Beizhuang *menhuan*, but Ma Qixi refused his request for such “underlying plots” against Beizhuang *menhuan*. This subsequently infuriated Ma Anliang and prompted him to take revenge on Ma Qixi. Taking the opportunity of another Hui warlord, Bai Lang (白朗), who took his army to Shaanxi, Ma Anliang brought his army, surrounded Xi Dao Tang and killed Ma Qixi and twenty of his close relatives. The collective properties of the *daotang* were also confiscated and this resulted in a long-fought economic crisis for Xi Dao Tang who brought a prolonged lawsuit against Ma Anliang. These lawsuits were never settled until Ma Angling’s sudden death in 1919.

The second period was led by Ma Qixi’s successor, Ma Mingren (馬明仁), who revived Xi Dao Tang and further developed it (1918–1946). Taking up the leadership of Xi Dao Tang in 1917, Ma Mingren endeavored to bring the homeless into settlements, and set out rules and regulations in order to organize all members and revive the commune economy as outlined by Ma Qixi. In this period Xi Dao Tang’s adherents increased by more than ten thousand; this led to further development of its economy. Xi Dao Tang set up its trade offices in Beijing, Zhangjiakou, Lanzhou, Baotou, North Sichuan, Kangding, Lhasa and elsewhere. They traded livestock, herbs, foodstuffs, timber, textiles, consumer durables, and even coral, gold and silver. Furthermore, they owned 12 farmyards with a total arable land of 7,000 *mu* (畝—slightly more than 1100 acres), five ranches feeding all kinds of livestock (about 3,000 head), thirteen timber sites, and more than ten workshops. Meanwhile, Xi Dao Tang sought endorsements from heavy-weight political figures, such as Bai Chongxi (白崇禧), the Hui Kuomintang General second only to Chiang Kai-shek (蔣介石), and the warlord Ma Bufang.

The third period was Xi Dao Tang’s period of decline (1947–1958). After Ma Mingren’s death in 1946, there were conflicts and rivalries that allowed some to accumulate personal wealth and which made the collective commune economy collapse, effectively disintegrating it. The successor, Min Zhidao (敏志道), who explored every possibility to resolve this conflict and attempted to find a resolution, had no way to prevent the demise of Xi Dao Tang. The economy of Xi Dao Tang, meanwhile, was corroded by the military expansion of Ma Bufang in the Northwest whose granting of political patronage to local monopolies challenged the economy of Xi Dao Tang through unfair regulations and even by force. In 1949, the economy of Xi Dao Tang crumbled and a great number

of adherents fell into destitution. The People's Republic of China, founded in October 1949, however, safeguarded the remnants of Xi Dao Tang. The still-living adherents were allowed to maintain their religious practices. Keeping in line with state policy on reforming capitalist economy, especially with land reform and collectivization of agricultural production, these adherents joined communes in agricultural co-ops and state-owned enterprises. In 1978, after the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Meeting of the Communist Party of China Central Committee, state policy on religion came into realization and Xi Dao Tang with its adherents, unanimously worked together with other religions in China and supported the "four modernizations" led by the Chinese Communist Party.

2 Four *Menhuan*

Menhuan's original meaning implies "gateways of official clans" that were ascribed by blood ties and kinship as acquisitions of personal status, wealth and prestige. Such acquisitions were grounded on a social base that bred religious organizations with more centralized power and *daotang* with larger zones of influence, producing religious leaders who were also landed gentry. These leaders passed their hereditary titles to their sons or disciples whom they selected, and adherents treated their leaders as demigods at whose *gongbei* (shrines, or *qubba*), they worshipped without questioning. Such organization demanded adherents be highly disciplined with strict rules and regulations that consolidated the religious privileges of the leader. The organization of *menhuan*, as mentioned, started in Hezhou, Gansu and expanded to other areas.

2.1 *Khufiyya Menhuan*

The Khufiyya *menhuan* advocates silent *dhikr* when reciting *the dhikr*, so it is known as the "silent recitation" sect. It was divided into a total of about twenty subdivisions, which were separated as individual units exercising their independent rights and authority. The adherents of Khufiyya settled in all provinces in the northwest, as well as Yunnan, Jilin, Hebei, Sichuan and Henan.

In addition to Khufiyya adherents being required to read the Quran and Hadiths and being obliged to practice the five tenets, the major *tariqah* an adherent must practice is silent *dhikr*, with notable variations of intonations and texts according to different divisions.

The organization of the Khufiyya *menhuan* were in three tiers namely, in descending order: *murshid*, (*Muleshide* 穆勒什德, a guide or advisor), *khalifah*

(*Hailifan* 海里凡) and *murid* (*Mulede* 穆勒德). *Murshid*, or *taiye* (太爺, deceased saints), were the helmsman of the *menhuan* and performed miracles. *Khalifah* were senior members secondary to *murshid* and would-be successors of the *menhuan* they belonged to after a *murshid's* death. *Murid* refers to faithful believers who had been admitted as pupils of the *menhuan*.

The core feature of Khufiyya is the centralized power seen in the hereditary succession of *khalifah*. When the *murshid* is alive, a group of *khalifah* are nurtured. One among several *khalifah* would then be selected as the next successor by the *murshid* at the end of his life. The selected *khalifah*, like the heir to the throne of a king, received a seal and an article of clothing from the dying *murshid* to prove he was the legitimate successor. This convention became the primary method of leadership succession in *menhuan*.

As the adherents increased, a *murshid* might merge several mosques into a large district for effective management, and the *murshid* assigned several *ra'is* (*Reyisi* 熱伊斯, local representative of the Jahriyya order, appointed by the head of the order) to other areas for preaching. Such assignments were a breakthrough in terms of organization, as the *murshid* need not stay in a *daotang* for his whole life. Meanwhile, the *murshid*, with flexible personnel management, appointed different *ahong* and other supporting officials to different *daotang* under his name and authority, and in fact, the final decision of personnel in these *daotangs* was definitely in the hands of *murshid*, thus centralizing the religious power to the sheikh.

The sheikh was believed, by the faithful, to be able to perform “miracles.” After a *murshid's* death, a shrine was built for him and the adherents prostrated before it. Some divisions of Khufiyya even took their believers' worship of the dead leaders as a substitute for the *hajj*.

The major divisions of Khufiyya are namely Bijiachang (畢家場), Huasi (花寺), Mufuti (穆夫提), Beizhuang (北莊), Lingmingtang (靈明堂), Humen (胡門), Xianmen (鮮門), Hongmen (洪門), Weichuantang (文泉堂), Tonggui (通貴), Yatou (崖頭) and Sala (薩拉).

2.1.1 Bijiachang and Xiaoliu (小劉) *Menhuan*

Bijiachang *menhuan* was named after the place at which the shrine of the founder was located. It placed its gravity on its eight major *daotangs* in Hezhou, Gansu, as the main zone of influence and its believers scattered around Hezhou, Lanzhou, Xining and Guyuan (固原) and Xiji (西吉) in Ningxia.

Ma Zongsheng (馬宗生) (1639–1719 AD), the founder of Bijiachang, was a descendant of a Persian merchant who finally settled in Chang'an (長安, now Xi'an) in the Tang Dynasty, and moved his residency to Hezhou. In 1672 AD, he was allowed to study with Hidayatu al-Lahi Appaq Mashhur, (alias

Afaq Khwajah 1625–1694 AD), the Twenty-Fifth Descendant of the Prophet Muhammad, in Huangzhong (遼中), Qinghai, in order to learn about the theories of Khufiyya and he later preached in that region. Ma advocated “following Allah’s orders, obeying the laws laid down by the Quran and *Fiqh al-Sunnah*, practicing love, care and respect interpersonally; following Allah’s orders and the five tenets first, then practicing *dhikr* silently.” In addition, Ma advocated words of caution and prudence—and refraining from uttering words or rebuttals to any sides of a controversy on points of religion and not to engage in verbal exchanges with members of other *menhuan* in order to lure them to one’s own.

The second sheikh, Ma Yiqing (馬一清), the fifth son of Ma Zongsheng, was well educated and eloquent in speech which strengthened his influence among Muslims in Hehuang (河湟). More than 2,000 Muslim households adhered to Bijiachang at the heyday of this *menhuan*. After Ma Yiqing’s death, there was no selected *khalifah* to steer the *menhuan*, therefore subsequent leaders can only be called the chairperson instead of *murshid*. The selected third descendant, Ma Dawude (馬達吾德), raised the *waqf* (communal properties) and further built and renovated Qi Mosque (*Qisi* 祁寺), North Mosque (*Beisi* 北寺), and South Mosque (*Nansi* 南寺) in Bafang (八坊), Linxia. Then the *menhuan* declined gradually and the remaining adherents were converted to Ishaqiyya or other *menhuan*. It completely vanished in 1949 and its features shared most commonalities with those of Gedima.

The fourth son of Ma Zongsheng was disconnected from the clan and was brought up by a family named Liu, thus he adopted the same last name Liu. He did, however, inherit what his biological father taught him and preached in Lanzhou. He died and was buried at the shores of Xiao Xihu (小西湖), so the division was called “Xiao Liumen’ as a branch of Bijiachang *menhuan*.”

2.1.2 Huasi *Menhuan*

This was the largest branch of Khufiyya, whose adherents were densely populated in Hezhou, Gansu, and Xunhua (循化), Qinghai, and settled in Gansu, Ningxia, Qinghai and Xinjiang. It was recorded that there were more than 200,000 adherents at the peak of its influence.

The founder, Ma Laichi (馬來遲) (1681–1766), had his ancestral origin in Chang’an (Xi’an) and later moved to Hezhou. After he was eighteen years old, Ma became and worked as an *imam* and an *ahong* for the next 20 years. In 1728, he went to Damascus, Baghdad, and Cairo to study abroad. He studied the Shadhiliya, Qadiyya, Naqshbandiyya and Suhrawardiyya traditions and after that he went back to Hezhou and began to preach Khufiyya with

reference to what he had learned in 1734. Later he travelled in Henan, Yunnan, Shaanxi and Qinghai, even converting some Tibetans to Islam in Ka'er Gang (卡爾崗) in Qinghai (now in Tibet). Up until 1949, the *menhuan* had seven descending leaders. The third sheikh, Ma Guangzong (馬光宗), led 3,000 men and fought against the White Lotus Sect (*Bailian Jiao* 白蓮教) in Shangzhou (商州), together with the Governor-General of Shaanxi, Yijin (宜錦), under orders from the Emperor Jiaxing. Ma Guiyuan (馬桂源), the sixth descending leader rebelled against the Qing court in Xining together with his students and Ma Zhan'ao (馬占鰲), the famous *ahong* of Huasi *menhuan*. But in 1872, Ma Zhan'ao surrendered to the Qing court, which later convinced Ma Guiyuan to surrender then subsequently killed him in Lanzhou. After Ma Guiyuan was killed, Huasi *menhuan* split into two divisions. Ma Rubao (馬如彪) represented the "new sect" stationed in Hezhou; and Ma Yongling (馬永齡) represented the "old sect." Both became religious and political rivals and generated sectarian upheaval. The Qing, at that time, attempted to terminate these upheavals with a heavy hand. The Muslims facing Qing military force, however, launched an even larger rebellion against the Qing court in Gansu and Qinghai. In the Tenth Lunar Month of the same year, the Hui generals leading the Qing armies, Dong Fuxiang (董福祥) and Ma Anliang, attempted unsuccessfully to get the rebels to surrender. In the end, Ma Yongling, Ma Rubao and their family members were slaughtered; Huasi shrine was also demolished and Huasi *menhuan* never rose up again.

Huasi *menhuan* advocated believers "keeping their mind in silence when in a noisy environment," laying their faith in Allah's orders, the five tenets, and *amal* (*Amanli* 阿曼里, charitable work, good deed). When a Muslim died, the others visited the shrine for prayer first and to do the *Fidya*,¹ and were required to remove their shoes when practicing *janaza* (*zhenaze* 者那則, funeral procession).

1 [This is a direct quotation from Wang's Glossary] "A ritual in funeral services in which mourners gather round the coffin and pass around a copy of the Quran or money covered by a handkerchief. As they pass this round, they kiss it and chant verses from the Quran. The number of times the Quran or money is passed round depends upon the perception of to what extent the deceased failed in their religious duties when alive. After the service, the money donated by the family of the deceased is distributed among the mourners and the local people, except for ten per cent donated to a mosque charitable foundation." Wang, Jianping, *Glossary of Chinese Islamic Terms*, (Richmond, Surrey: Curzon Press, 2001), 31.

2.1.3 Mufti, or Lintao (臨洮) *Menhuan*

Mufti *Menhuan* was founded in Lintao, and then moved to Kangle (康樂). Its adherent settled in Gansu, Qinghai and Xinjiang. Other adherents followed Bai Yanfu (白彥虎) and settled in Central Asia.

The founder of the Mufti *menhuan*, Ma Shouzhen (馬守貞) (1633–1722), had an ancestor of Tajik origin who helped pacify the An Lushan Rebellion (*An shi zhiluan* 安史之亂) (755–763) and then lived in Cangmen Xiang (倉門巷) in the area of Chang'an. Another ancestor, living in the Song Dynasty was penalized for breaking a Song law and was deported to Xining and stayed there for the rest of his life. It is alleged that Ma's mother married Hidayatu al-Lahi Appaq Mashhur (Afaq Khwajah), the Twenty-Fifth Descendant of the Prophet Muhammad. After Ma's birth, the family then moved to Lintao to escape regional turmoil and they practiced farming.

In 1671, Ashige passed on the teachings of Khufiyya to Ma Shouzhen as well as his belongings, including rosary, headscarf, etc., in total, eight items; he then named Ma as *murshid*. Ma Shouzhen went back to the Bei Xiang (北鄉) of Lintao and preached there for another half a century.

From Ma Shouzhen to the present day, Mufti has a record of fourteen successive leaders. The tradition urges adherents and students to learn Chinese. In addition to running voluntary schools for the poor, the sixth descendant, Ma Jinhuan (馬金煥) (1741–1791) maintained that Mufti kept good relations with the Han Chinese and Qing court. The Governor-General of Shaanxi-Gansu gifted a plaque inscribed in Chinese with a translation of the Mufti name. The ninth descendant, Ma Yun (馬雲), joined the rebellion against the Qing court in Shaanxi and Gansu, but finally met with total failure, leaving his adherents massacred or fleeing for their survival, with his mosques and shrine set afire. Later, the Mufti *gongbei* was rebuilt in Fengtaibao (封台堡). The eleventh descendant, Ma Weiham (馬維翰), in the Twenty-First Year of Guangxu (1895), raised another rebellion against the Qing court, but was later killed by Dong Fuxiang and Ma Anliang with his *gongbei* being demolished. The son of Ma Weiham, Ma Fushao (馬福壽), was the twelfth leader of Mufti but he was killed by the warlord Ma Bufang in 1924. Then Ma Zengshao (馬增壽), brother of Ma Fushao, succeeded as the thirteenth descendant, but he was killed by Dai Jingyu (戴靖宇), the Northwest Kuomintang General-Commander. Finally, the massacre-ridden Mufti *menhuan* declined gradually and passed the succession to the fourteenth descendant, Ma Xiaoji (馬孝繼), at the age of 14. He died in 1974.

Mufti *menhuan* advocates that worship at the *gongbei* is a substitute for making the hajj pilgrimage, and features hereditary succession as the primary selection of successors. Adherents kneel and prostrate before their leader and burn incense to commemorate deceased religious leaders.

As a supplementary note, in relation to the sixth successor of the Mufti *menhuan*, Ma Jinhuan's younger brother, Ma Yuhuan (馬玉煥), plotted against the succession of his elder brother, but failed. Ma Yuhuan then departed to Wayaotou (瓦窯頭) of Ningxia to continue his preaching, and his sect was called Lintao *menhuan*.

2.1.4 Beizhuang, Basuchi (巴蘇池), and Jinggou (井溝) *Menhuan*

Beizhuang *menhuan* was the largest in Dongxiang Xian, and was founded in Dongxiang, Hezhou (now the Dongxiang Autonomous Region). It once had its zones of influence covering areas in Gansu, Qinghai and Xinjiang. The composition of Beizhuang believers was Dongxiang, Hui, Salar, and Baoan nationalities. Beizhuang's successors for religious leadership have recorded six descendants since the foundation of the *menhuan* in the early 17th Century.

The founder of Beizhuang, Ma Baozhen (馬葆真) (1722–1880), was a Dongxiang native who started his career as an *ahong* in Huasi *menhuan*. He went to Yarkant in 1812 and learned from Sheikh Ulah, who later qualified Ma by issuing a license (*ijazah*) to Ma as a *murshid*. In 1814, Ma Baozhen completed his *hajj* and returned to Dongxiang to preach in the Khufiyya tradition. The third descendant, Abudushi (阿不都時) was the *de facto* leader, but all the power of the *menhuan* was, in fact, in the hands of his brother, Ma Wuzhen (馬悟真), who first, in 1863, raised his flag and rebelled against the Qing as the chief military commander, whose duties was later taken up by Ma Zhan'ao. He followed Ma Zhan'ao in surrendering to the Han General of the Qing court, who promoted Ma Wuzhen by offering officialdom. Ma Lun (馬璘), son of Ma Wuzhen, inherited his father's official title as the military commander of Gansu. The successors thus relied upon the imperial support of the Qing, and helped consolidate Beizhuang *menhuan*'s zones of influence.

Ma Baozhen had five *murshid* managing religious affairs in five separate regions. After Ma's death, they tended to self-administer with their own styles, although they shared the common name of Beizhuang *menhuan*. One was Habibu ben laxi [possibly Habib bin Lassi] (豪比布本拉希) who administered the religious affairs of the *menhuan* in another Dongxiang branch which was called Basuchi; the second was Song Dege (為松的格) in Lintan, at the *Dazigou gongbei* (達子溝拱北); the third was Abbas of Yangmen, in Lintao and Kangle, who managed the Beizhuang there under the name of "Xiao Yangmen (小楊門)"; the fourth was Ma Dawud (馬達吾德), in Urmuqi and Turfan; and the fifth was Isim, who was the right hand of Ma Baozhen and respected by all adherents of the Beizhuang *menhuan*; he was buried at Jinggou and a shrine was built for him and for adherents' veneration. The descendants of Isim later made their own *menhuan* around the Jinggou *gongbei*, resulting in their being called the Jinggou *menhuan*.

a. The major features of the Beihzuang *menhuan*:

All senior members (*murshid*) have undertaken the Hajj and have valid certificates for preaching issued by the Yarkant *daotang*; all Beizhuang believers follow the orders of Allah, practice the five tenets, undertake retreats and perform *dhikr* with equal importance; all marriages should seek the advice and instructions of a *murshid* beforehand; and members recite the Fatihah from the Quran when a Muslim has died.

2.1.5 Lingmingtong, Mingyuetang (明月堂) *Menhuan*

Also dubbed as “Crazy *menhuan*” (Fengmen瘋門), the founder of Lingming *menhuan*, Ma Yilong (馬一龍) (1853–1925) lived in Lanzhou most of his life. Starting as a Qadim *ahong*, he later learned Khufiyya and Qadiyya in Hezhou. He then went back to Lanzhou, practiced the five tenets, engaged in retreats and meditation, and practiced *dhikr*. Dressing in shabby clothing, he begged on streets and consumed only a small amount of food. Some passers-by thought that he was a lunatic, but despite this perception of his behavior, he strove to practice what Allah taught him, and became highly respected by a few Muslims who later followed him. His deeds were then set down and parables about him were told. Being profound, they caught much attention and attracted many adherents who eventually built a *gongbei* for Ma Yilong in Xiyuan (西園), Lianzhou, and the tradition was thereafter named “Lingmingtang.” After that, the *menhuan* was separated in three *daotangs*, the East, West and Central, with the East *daotang* having the largest number of believers. The *menhuan* also erected its branches in Urmuqi and Hami. Lingmingtang adherents lived in Lanzhou, Kangle, Guanghe (廣河), and other places in Qinghai and Xinjiang.

One of Ma Yilong’s disciples, a fur merchant called Ma Renfu (馬仁甫) from Meng Xian (孟縣), Henan, engaged in trade in Lanzhou during the Sino-Japanese war and joined the Lingmingtang. He later moved to Guanyuan, built a courtyard named “Mingyue Daotang” (明月道堂) and proclaiming himself as *laorenjia* (老人家, elder, senior). The courtyard was then set as a base for preaching and what they preached was treated as a branch of Lingmingtang.

2.1.6 Humen *Menhuan*

The founder of Humen, Ma Fuhai (馬伏海) whose ancestors lived in Hong Ni Tan (紅泥灘), Dongxiang, was a native of Dongxiang. He started his schooling at the Great Mosque in Chongwen Alley (崇文巷), Xi’an, and went back to his native place to preach in 1749. The *menhuan* had a total of six descending successors and its adherents lived in Dongxiang, Ningxia and Lanzhou.

Then the *menhuan* leadership was passed on to the second descendant Jadi and the third descendant Ali. Unfortunately, there was a hereditary dispute

about the succession. Ali's eldest son, Jamal ud Din (哲麻龍的尼), became the successor of Humen as the third descendant who passed down the leadership to Ma Guotai (馬國泰) as the sixth; Ali's third son proclaimed himself as the successor in Taizi Mosque (太子寺) in Guanghe, and passed his throne to Ma Guozong (馬國宗) as the sixth descendant.

Meanwhile, Jadi's elder son, Osman, took control of management of Dongxiang, Guanghe and Kangle as Ali came into power. Osman's grandson, Ma Wanyou (馬萬有), supported the Tongzhi rebellion under the leadership of Ma Zhan'ao, and later following Ma Zhan'ao, surrendered to the Qing court. Ma Wanyou's son, Ma Fushao was appointed as an infantry commander and was made famous in Hehuang and Hezhou. When the Eight Allies invaded Beijing, Ma Fushao led his troops to protect Beijing and protected Empress Cixi (慈禧) from the attacks of allied forces, together with another Hui general, Ma Anliang. Empress Cixi, in recognizing Ma Fushao's bravery and loyalty, rewarded him and his descendants. After the downfall of the Qing court, Ma Fushao's son, Ma Guoli (馬國禮), was appointed as the deputy general of the Western Kuomintang Army and Minister of Regional Affairs in Gansu; Ma Guoren (馬國仁) was appointed as the military commander of Longnan (隴南); Ma Guodong (馬國棟) was appointed as the frontier deputy of General Liu Yufen (劉郁芬), the Northwestern Army of Kuomintang. Their honor and high rank thus promoted Humen to new heights in history.

The religious rites of Humen and Qadim share many common characteristics, but Humen, as distinguished from other sects, features the Alif interpretation of the trinity of Allah, prophets and Muslims 唉立夫 in one. Additionally, Humen believers were forbidden from eating rabbit.

2.1.7 Xianmen, Liumen (劉門) *Menhuan*

Xianmen was named after the founder Xian Meizhen (鮮美珍) (1644–1722), alias Zhuzhi Taiye (柱子太爺), who was born in Huangzhong, Qinghai. He received Khufiyya from Hidayatu al-Lahi Appaq Mashhur, (or Afaq Khwajah) and then made his *hajj* and went back to Xining to start his preaching. There was a split in the *menhuan* after the third descendant: one division stayed in Xianmen, Qinghai, and had more than 2,000 followers; the other division moved to Xiji, Ningxia, and was called Xiji Xianmen.

Xianmen prioritized silent retreat as the primary practice compared to the five tenets; the adherents' practices were kept in secret; they showed their veneration to preachers, such as kissing the preachers' hands, seeking "blessings from God."

The successor, or *khalifa*, of Xian Meizhen was Liu Boyang (劉伯陽), who founded another *menhuan* in his hometown in Lanzhou. When he died, his

body was buried in a *gongbei* at Xijin Bridge (西津橋), Lanzhou (moved to Hualin Mountain (華林山) after 1949). Adherents commemorated him and the order he founded was then called the Liumen *menhuan*.

2.1.8 Hongmen *Menhuan*

The founder was Hong Hairu (洪海儒), alias Shoulin (壽林), a native of Tongxin Xian (同心縣), Ningxia. His disciples lived near Tongxin, Haiyuan (海源) and Guyuan. Hong learned the doctrines of *Khufiyya* from Taiye of Liangzhou (涼州) in *Khufiyya*, and then preached around the area of Honggangzi (洪崗子), Tongxin Xian. He died in 1936 and his *menhuan* was then split into two branches, namely Tongxin and Haiyuan.

Hongmen *menhuan* was characterized by four teaching rites: first reprimands and promulgations; then reciting *tauba* (repentance); third, *dhikr*, and the last, *Shaotou* (守頭), a secret code of teaching that was not to be told to anybody including family members.

2.1.9 Wenquantang, Tonggui *Menhuan*

The founder of Wenquantang, Ma Wenquan (馬文泉) (1840–1880), had the Islamic name Muhammad Ibrahim. He was a native of Lanzhou. Ma Wenquan went to Mecca thrice and was taught by Abdul Karim (阿布都裡·克勒木). After going back to China, he preached in Fujian, Guangxi, Sichuan, Gansu and Qinghai, and was later killed by the Qing court. His *gongbei* was named, after his death, “Wenquantang.”

Qiaodian Ma (橋店馬) of Pingliang (平涼), after having received the order of his master Ma Wenquan in Lanzhou, went back to Pingliang. After 1911, when the Kuomintang came to power, a Yinchuan (銀川) native named Ma Tonggui (馬通貴) was admitted by Qiaodian Ma as a pupil, and after Qiaodian Ma's death, Ma Tonggui went back to his hometown Yinchuan and founded the Tonggui *menhuan*.

2.1.10 Yatou, Gaozhaojia (高趙家) *Menhuan*

The founder of Yatou *menhuan* was a native of Xunhua in Qinghai called Fantahai (反他海) who later moved to Yatou, Linxia. He had integrated the teachings from Ma Wenquan, Musa, Nurongdani (奴茸的尼), the Yarkant *daotang* in Xinjiang, ultimately preaching in Yatou. His *menhuan* was called Yatou and had five generations of religious leadership.

Not only did Yatou adopt *Khufiyya* practices, but also the disciplines of *Qadiyya*, so requiring every believer to keep to both and follow them strictly.

One Yatou disciple, Ma Yiheiya, a Gaozhaojia, native to Jishishan (積石山) Autonomous Region, departed from Yatou in 1920 and founded his own sect

called Gaozhaojia *menhuan*. After Ma Yiheiya's death, his wife and then his daughter in law continued to preach but it appeared to be a loose organization.

2.1.11 Salar

The founder was Suwa of Xunhua (循化蘇哇), who had the Islamic name Nur el Muhammad. The Salars were divided into two branches, namely Hazirou (海孜若) and Musa (母撒). This *menhuan* integrated Qadiyya and Khufiyya, emphasizing equal importance between Allah's order, the five tenets and *dhikr*. Even recently, some groups of believers still follow the doctrines of Salar and have made some progress.

2.1.12 Famen *Menhuan*

A Linxia native, Fazhen (法真) (?–1956) began to preach in the beginning of the 20th Century. Originally being a Qadim believer, Fazhen completed the *hajj* and was called Hajji Fa (Fahazhi 法哈知). Before 1949, he began to teach and preach in Linxia Wang Mosque (臨夏王寺), as well as Mochuan Mosque (磨川寺), in Linxia. His practices of *shariah* were based upon Allah's order and the five tenets. Fazhen did not promote himself to lure more adherents, but accepted volunteers who were eager to learn. And yet, his disciples exerted influence in Linxia.

2.1.13 Dingmen *Menhuan*

The founder was Dingxiang (丁祥), a native in Lintan and a schooling attendant in Dong Daotang (東道堂) in Yarkant. He later moved to regions in Lanzhou and Hezhou. His body was buried under Hualin Mountain, but he did not appoint any successor.

2.2 *Jahriyya Menhuan*

Jahriyya means vocal *dhikr*, which requires believers to recite aloud. Jahriyya believers scattered in the five northwest and thirteen southwest provinces. Jahriyya owned mosques and *daotangs* in more than 830 sites, and was ruled by eight descending leaders. Later it split into four branches and its leaders engaged in several attempts of anti-Qing rebellion resulting in violent suppression by the Qing government.

The founder, Ma Mingxin (馬明心) (1719–1781), was from Jiezhou (階州) (now Wudu 武都) in Gansu), and later moved to Daxiguan (大西關) in Hezhou. He completed the *hajj* in 1728, accompanying his uncle, but they got separated on the way, and Ma Mingxin became a household servant in Central Asia. Later he went to Yemen and Mecca, and became a pupil of Sheikh 'Abd al-Khaliq in Yemen, he met other masters in Mecca.

After returning to China, Ma Mingxin preached in Xunhua. Conflicting with Huasi *menhuan*, Ma was subject to a lawsuit with Huasi. The magistrate later ordered Ma to be deported out of the territory. In 1762, Ma Mingxin went to Guanchuan (官川), Dingxi (定西), and accumulated believers there with his growing popularity. More came from Yunnan, Hebei, Shandong, and Henan. The place Ma preached became a base of Jahriyya, which was also called Guanchuan *menhuan*.

After his departure from Xunhua, Ma's conflicts with Huasi *menhuan* intensified, and mutual killings erupted as a result. In the First Lunar Month of the 46th year of Qianlong (1781), Ma's student, Su Sishisan (蘇四十三) led a gang and murdered Huasi disciples by the dozens. The magistrate of Lanzhou, Yang Siji (楊士磯), went to the site of the incident to investigate, but on his way he was ambushed and killed. The repercussions of killing a Qing official ignited an anti-Qing rebellion. The Governor-General of Shaanxi and Gansu quickly arrested Ma Mingxin. In responses to the arrest of Ma, Su Sishisan and Salimid (賽力買), the adopted daughter of Ma, led their army to occupy Hezhou and besieged Lanzhou in an attempt to demand Ma's release from the Qing. The chief defender of the Qing, the Governor Wang Tingzan (王廷贊), executed Ma Mingxin while sending his request for more Qing expedition armies by means of carrier pigeons. Qing then used 30,000 soldiers to suppress the rebellion in three months, and was successful due to its superior odds. As a result of a total defeat, the rebellion cost the lives of Su Sishisan and Salimid and 3,000 other men. According to the Laws of Imperial Qing, the relatives of the "leading rebels" were sentenced to death, and an additional several hundred were also killed. Ma Mingxin's two sons and the other youngest sons of the rebels were deported to do military labor in Talang (他朗), Yunnan, and Baise (百色), Guangxi. All women and girls related to the rebellions were compelled to be servant-maids in Xinjiang. Meanwhile, Qing declared Jahriyya as a heretical religion that was to be banned completely, and all its mosques were demolished. In order to tighten the control over Muslims, the Qing restricted changes to the management of mosques, from the sole decisions of *imams* to requiring consent from all village elders. Even for the existing sects and *menhuan*, no more mosques could be built.

After Ma Mingxin's martyrdom, a Pingliang native Mu Xianzhang (穆憲章) (1755–1812) became the second inheritor of the Jahriyya. Three years later, one of the most favored disciples of Ma Mingxin, Ahong Tian Wu (田五), mobilized another anti-Qing rebellion in Shifengbao (石峰堡), Tongwei (通渭) in Gansu, and Mu was suspected as the coordinator of the rebellion. He was imprisoned and later died of an illness in Pingliang. This time the rebellion lasted for three months, involved twelve counties and more than 1,200 towns. The whole

military operation thereby consumed 30,000 soldiers, and cost more than two million *taels* in military expenditure with a toll of more than ten thousand deaths. In the aftermath, more than 4,600 relatives of the rebels, mainly women and children, were deported for labor, around 1,400 *mou* (畝) of land was confiscated, and 73 mosques were razed. All the destructive measures by the Qing forced all religious activities of Jahriyya underground.

The third inheritor, Ma Datian (馬達天) (1757–1817), preached Jahriyya in the dark, but unfortunately fell prey to Qing reconnaissance. The Qing sentenced him to be deported to Jilin where he died in a dockyard, and so his posthumous name was “Dockyard Grandfather (船廠太爺).” His son, Ma Yide (馬以德) (1780–1849), became the fourth inheritor, and started the hereditary system of *menhuan* succession. His time was the twilight of the Qing, which was ridden with both external invasions and internal unrests. During this time the group experienced a temporary release from the Qing’s curbs on Jahriyya and this provided a golden opportunity to restore its influence by sending *ra’is* (head, leader, local representative) to Xinjiang, Yunnan, Heilongjiang and Hebei.

The son of Ma Yide, Ma Hualong (馬化龍) (1810–1871) succeeded in the leadership as the fifth inheritor of Jahriyya. Owing to the accumulation of wealth and prestige from the previous, consecutive successions, Jahriyya had their commercial businesses in Baotao, Beijing, Tianjin and Hankou (漢口), and could obtain some junior positions in Qing imperial officialdom for its members by purchasing positions including those of generals, as well as landowners and tradesmen. The wealth was then dispensed in preaching and converting more Jahriyya believers. Undoubtedly, Jahriyya henceforth stretched its influences on the most regions in China.

As Emperor Tongzhi began his rule, regional unrest arose, including the Taiping Rebellion (太平天國革命) and the Hui rebellions: Du Wenxiu (杜文秀) rebelled in Yunnan; Bai Yanfu in Guanzhong (關中); Ma Guiyuan in Xining; Ma Zhan’ao in Hezhou; and Ma Wenlu (馬文錄) in Suzhou (肅州). Ma Hualong, stationed in Jinjibao (金積堡), directed all the armies of anti-Qing rebels in Gansu. The rebellion lasted for a decade but failed. When Ma Hualong conceded that the anti-Qing camp would suffer a crushing defeat, he was unswervingly prepared to surrender with the lives of his family to bargain for the lives of his disciples and adherents before the Qing, but his bargain met with massacre. Ma was put to death by thousands of cuts; the whole *menhuan*, including all men and women, was punished with blood and terror with a final death toll of several hundred thousand. The grandsons of Ma Hualong, Ma Jincheng (馬進成) and Ma Jinxi (馬進西), were the only survivors and were put in Kaifeng (開封) prison. In the aftermath, Jahriyya was totally paralyzed.

Later on, the fourth grandson of Ma Mingxin, Ma Yuanzhang (馬元章) (1853–1920), restored the Jahriyya. His grandfather and the son of Ma Mingxin, Ma Shunqing (馬順清), were deported to Donggou Village (東溝村), Hexi Xian (河西縣) in Yunan, for military labor. He had five sons, and the third son, Ma Shilun (馬世麟), then had Ma Yuanzhang, Ma Yuanchao (馬元超) and two other sons. Ma Shilun joined the Panthay rebellion led by Du Wenxiu, becoming the military leader in Hexi Xian. The Qing army besieged and defeated the Muslim voluntary army in Donggou, Hexi. Ma Shilun killed himself and a thousand of his men were killed. Ma Yuanzhang, Ma Yuanchao and others, camouflaged their genuine Muslim identities. In 1875, Ma Yuanzhang, detoured to several places for escape, wandered in Zhangjiachuan (張家川) in Gansu, and secretly obtained the skull of Ma Hualong, which was buried there. He built a *gongbei* for him named “Xuanhuagang (宣化崗).” Following the building of the *gongbei*, Ma Yuanzhang fetched Ma Jinxi and based their foundation on Sagou, Xiji, and controlled zones of influences in Xiji, Haiyuan, Guyuan. In 1911, when the Kuomintang began to rule China, the Jahriyya commemorated the fortieth anniversary of Ma Hualong’s death and held an *amal* (*ermaili* to commemorate his death), and named the deceased Ma Jincheng as the sixth descendant; Ma Yuanzhang proclaimed himself as the seventh descendant in succession.

After his succession, he not only kept good relations with the Han population living around Jahriyya Muslims, but also with the local officials and warlords. He highly praised his elders, including Ma Mingxin, Su Sishisan, and Salimid by building *gongbei* and organized a mass *amal* that made a spectacle at that time. He moreover tightened up the administration of all regions by sending *ra’is* there and centralizing power by unifying Muslims in Hehuang and Xunhua. All his attempts restored the Jahriyya. But unfortunately Ma Yuanzhang was in conflict with Ma Jinxi, who later departed and founded a new *menhuan* based upon Zhangjiachuan and Nanchuan (南川), building *daotangs* and *gongbei*. The rift and the two seventh descendants of Jahriyya split the *menhuan* into two branches namely “Beishan *menhuan*” and “Nanchuan *menhuan*.”

Ma Yuanzhang died in an earthquake in Haiyuan, 1920, and his fourth son, Ma Zhenwu (馬震武), succeeded him, but his uncle Ma Yuanchao denied his succession. Then the Beishan *menhuan* further split into two branches, namely “Beishan” and “Sagou” holding 180 and 450 or more neighborhood areas respectively.

Later, Ma Jinxi moved to Banqiao (板橋) Jinjibao and built a *daotang*. After his death in 1940, that *menhuan* split into two, namely “Nanchuan” and “Banqiao,” managing more than 50 and 150 neighborhood areas respectively.

The Jahriyya *menhuan* originated from the Shadhiliya order in Yemen and [the Central Asian] Naqshbandiyya, and became a unique sect with respect to the Chinese context. Jahriyya strongly advocated asceticism, abandoning giving gifts and sending compliments. Ma Mingxin sustained a life of poverty and hard work, and owned only one wool overcoat for travelling but he was willing to give to the poor from donations. Furthermore, Ma argued against the hereditary succession of *khalifas*, and simplified rituals in an attempt to carry out religious reform.

Despite the setbacks of Jahriyya after several Qing purges, it became more mature in its institutional development. Donations and endowments, once opposed by Ma, were later replaced by *niyya* (alms or donations as an act of benevolence or to reward a cleric for performing a requested religious service), which became a source for accruing wealth. By making the best use of *niyya*, Ma owned more farmland and built courtyards, together with gaining wealth from trade. The wealth was then passed on to Ma Yide and Ma Zhenwu.

The organization of the Jahriyya is in a three-tier structure from *daotangs* on the top, regional offices in the middle and *madrasah* (mosques) at the bottom. Extravagantly built, *daotangs* were big mansions and courtyards for religious leaders and the headquarters of administrations of districts and mosques; regional offices were the middle organizations of *daotangs* for managing sub-*daotangs*, and were headed by an appointed *ra'is*, like the sub-*daotangs* in Honglefu (洪樂府) and Lanzhou. At the bottom, each *madrasah* was based upon a mosque, whose religious activities were chiefly conducted by one *ahong*. The leader appointed all *ra'is* and *ahongs* with unfixed terms and tenures.

The major characteristics of Jahriyya are expressed in their specific forms of *dhikr*, which are contrary to those of Khufiyya; Jahriyya advocates the vocal *dhikr*, not only *Shahada*, but also reciting Bismillah in completion. Like other *menhuan*, Jahriyya requires disciples and adherents to bow and worship before the religious leader and *gongbei*, and the latter is a substitute for the *hajj*. Particularly, Chinese Jahriyya emphasizes the spirit of *shahid* (martyr, one killed in battle with infidels and in defense of the faith), because only one of the seven descendants died of natural causes and others were martyred, which implied that martyrdom as a *shahid* paves the best way to Allah. Men sometimes wear a black fez with their faces clearly shaved; women are allowed to expose their faces without the cover of veils.

2.3 Qadiriyya Menhuan

Qadiriyya, meaning “the man with free will endowed by Allah,” was an early Sufi sect with both fundamentalism and Shi’a mysticism. In the early years of

the Kangxi reign, the 29th descendant of Muhammad, Khwajah Abdul Alla, a sheikh of the Qadiriyya, preached in Gansu, Ningxia and Qinghai, and Qadiriyya in China became deeply influenced by Chinese Buddhism and Taoism.

Not only the Quran and Hadith are the primary studies of Qadiriyya, but also the meditation practices. A disciple will never know, recognize and approach Allah if he does not practice such meditations.

Qadiriyya further maintains that "*tariqah* (or Dao in Chinese) comes first before *shariah*, which was composed by Muhammad in his oral teachings; *tariqah* is transcendent, non-created, and permanent. In order to achieve the stage of a *tariqah*, a man should break his marriage bond, resist all seduction from emoluments and privileges, become estranged from secular life, travel deep into the remote mountains and finally find a spiritual master who understands and teaches through ascetic practices and meditations; in other words, meditation is the shortcut to achieve this stage, and an expression of other-worldliness.

The central theory of practices of Qadiriyya was "rooting one's character to live one whole life, or living through one's fate" and "nurturing one's character by disciplining oneself." In other words, "character" is the root that lasts permanently; "one's life and fate" are temporal, and like death, wither away. Disciplining oneself is to make one have persistent and ascetic characteristics in preparation for one's ever-changing life and fate.

The *dao zu* (道祖) of Qadiriyya were supposed to be the chief guides and masters that also performed "miracles." The succession was passed to *khalifa* by a *dao zu*, and the successor had to be a disciple admitted in his childhood who had wandered many place and was sustained by begging and all kinds of required ascetic practices. It has been reported that the descendants of Qadiriyya have passed through eight generations with twelve descendants, according to Houzihe (後子河). At the end there was no suitable successor to be selected and the passing-on of Qadiriyya ceased.

Like these practices of Chinese Buddhism, Qadiriyya divides practitioners into the higher-ranked monastics (*chuijiaren* 出家人) and the lower-ranked seculars (*suren* 俗人). Notwithstanding the ascetic, the monastics also include the frequenters or the devotees who joined and practiced Qadiriyya when they were in their teens or later, begging and living around *gongbei*. With Qadiriyya being lost, these categories of adherents became successors *de facto* and were called *murshid* (*wo li* 臥裡). There was another type, standing *gongbei* guards, who were responsible for managing the *gongbei*. Among those were notable personnel called the "chairpersons" who, whether being monastic or not, held the overall management authority of the *gongbei*, burned incense before *salat*

prayers and recited texts voicelessly. All disciples of the monastic members were admitted by *murshids*, and were required to strictly abide by rules of asceticism: namely three commandments and five obligations. *Ahongs* were seen as the secular members who were only the believers who did not practice the commandments and obligations as aforesaid except worshipping *gongbei* and performing the ritual of *umr* (anniversary of the death of their shaykh for Hui in some Sufi orders).

The neighborhood structure of Qadiriyya is one mosque for each neighborhood area, and its *ahong* is employed by the majority of adherents, who recognize the *ahong* as the sole leader of the mosque.

There are three major *menhuan* of Qadiriyya, namely Dagongbei (大拱北) in Hezhou, Houzihe (後子河) Yangmen (楊門) in Qinghai and Jiucaiping (韭菜坪) Haiyuan in Ningxia.

2.3.1 Dagongbei *Menhuan*

The *menhuan* is the major disseminator and successor of Qadiriyya. Its adherents settled in Gansu, Shaanxi, Sichuan, and Qinghai. The founder, Qi Jingyi (祁靜一) (1656–1719), known as Hilal al-Din, was a native of Hezhou. He entered an Arabic university in a mosque at twelve, and later was admitted as a pupil of the 29th descendant of Muhammad, Khwajah Abd Alla. He then followed what his teacher had taught, and undertook solitary retreat in various places over a period of nine years and forty days, with interludes of thirty-six long and twenty-eight short retreats. His teacher praised what Qi had achieved and then he preached, with what he had learnt from his teacher. After his succession as the leader in 1689, he admitted a mass of adherents in Sichuan, Shaanxi and Gansu. He died in Xixiang (西鄉) in 1719, and his body was buried first in Luling Mosque (鹿齡寺), then moved to Hezhou after a hundred days and buried in his “Dagongbei” [great shrine], a building complex with a cemetery, a mosque, meditation rooms, gardens and a Chinese-Arabic *madrasah*.

There are dozens of *gongbei* belonging to Dagongbei, and each of them has its own leader, thus the power of organization is de-centralized. The principles of religious practices for Dagongbei are aptly summarized in the couplet of Qi Jingyi's motto, “the way to enter is to isolate oneself from the dust of the secular; the way to achieve the stage is to purify oneself from all lust of one's pleasures,” “go ascetic and determine one's will; be silent and discipline one's body.”

There is no such title like sheikh (*jiaozhu* 教主 or *zhangjiao* 掌教 in Chinese), but only a head (*dangjiaren* 當家人) who is responsible for daily affairs. Before his death, Qi Jingyi used the order of Chinese characters of his poems to signify the generations of the descendants.

2.3.2 Yangmen *Menhuan*

The founder, Yang Baoyuan (楊保元) (1780–1873), had his origin in Yangjianbao (楊建堡), Guyuan Ningxia. He descended from Khwajah Abd Alla, then Ma Shouchuan (馬受傳). Yang Baoyuan was the fifth descendant and the *menhuan* has recorded seven descendants. Yang wrote a book called *Principles of Tariqah* (*Gangchang* 綱常), which describes his paths and ways of *tariqah* in Chinese. He declared not finding a successor just before his death, and ordered his adherents to not engage in hereditary selection of successors but to accept a man with integrity and cleanliness of mind who would be elected to steer the *menhuan*.

2.3.3 Juicaiping *Manhuan*

This *menhuan* was named after its starting place and its adherents settled in Haiyuan, Xining, Hualong (化隆), and Lanzhou with *gongbei* in fifteen sites.

The first *laorenjia* (senior), An Hongxiong (安洪雄), was a native of Pingliang, Gansu, and a grandson of the fifth descendant (*dao zu*) of Qadiriyya. Educated in the *gongbei* of Houzihe, Qinghai. An was succeeded by Yang Zhirong (楊枝榮) as the “old-man,” the leader. In 1922, Yang moved the remains of the seventh descendant of Qadiriyya, which were then buried in Juicaiping, Ningxia in a newly built *gongbei* that became a religious center.

2.3.4 Qimen (齊門) *Menhuan*

Also called “Seven Gates,” it was founded in the late Qing by Ma Demin (馬德民). Its special feature was allowing adherents to bring along their family members, and they settled in Tongxin and Guyuan in Ningxia.

2.3.5 Xiangyuantang (香源堂) and Amen (阿門) *Menhuan*

Xiangyuantang was built at the time of Emperor Qianlong, and founded by Haikuo (海潤); the *dao zu* of Amen was an Arab, and the *menhuan* began to preach in Gansu at the time of Emperor Xianfeng; both are of the least importance in the light of their insignificant population of adherents.

2.4 *Kubruwiyya Menhuan*

Kubruwiyya is a branching sect of Sufism introduced in the late Ming and the early Qing Dynasties, with adherents settling in Dongxiang (東鄉) and Kangle.

It has been claimed that Mohidin, a descendant of Muhammad, first introduced Kubruwiyya by coming to China thrice. He at last settled in Dawantou (大灣頭) in Dongxiang, Hezhou, and made a living by farming, later becoming a member of Dongxiang. He adopted a Chinese surname Zhang, with the given names Yuhuang and Puji (張玉皇, 張普濟).

Mohidin's son succeeded as the second inheritor of the *menhuan* and added even more adherents, including Han people which caught the attention of the local authorities. This made Kubruwiyya look as though it was luring well-behaved civilians toward possible unrest and he was imprisoned. He later died in prison and yet the succession of the *menhuan* has continued through eleven generations.

In addition to the required obligations to follow Allah's orders and the five tenets, Kubruwiyya instructs its adherents to meditate and retreat in various durations of 40, 70 and 120 days, either in remote huts or caves. Adherents in retreats are required to do *dhikr*, congregate, and are allowed to eat only seven jujubes per day and drink several glasses of water. In funerals, attendants practice *amal* (a feast, or donation for a memorial service, commemorating the birth or death of the founder) and recite the Quran loudly, reciting Al-Fatiha, circulating Quran among participants (*al-Isqat*) and do not need to wear shoes when standing for *Salat al-Janazah*.

Studies on Islam in Beijing

Li Xinghua

Abstract

This chapter focuses upon the status of Islam in Beijing and discusses the issues of its introduction in Chinese history. It outlines six aspects of mosques in Beijing: The oral history of sheikhs and their tombs; categorization of personnel attached to these mosques; detailed historical records of events important in Beijing Islam; Islamic inscribed monuments and historical records on the transformation of Islam starting in the Republic Era (1911–1949 AD).

Keywords

Beijing – Islam – Religious Transformation

Facing West towards Mecca, rising in the middle to Heaven, facing East to the Capital (Beijing). This Mosque is in ruins and Islam cannot be sustained; Islam dwindles and never champions again.

A verse written on the monument of Niujie (牛街) Mosque.



There is no other city in China that surpasses Beijing as the center of Chinese Islam, therefore it is natural to choose Beijing as the prime site of Islamic studies due to its historical and political prominence.

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1 The Status of Beijing Islam

1.1 *The Islamic Center in Beijing after the Yuan Dynasty*

It is reasonably stated that Beijing has become the center of Chinese Islam since Yuan Dynasty. There are two reasons: first, for most of Chinese history after the Yuan, Beijing has been the capital of the country; second, the influence of Islam started to extend to all over China after Yuan.

With its prime status as a capital, Beijing lured many Muslims from various origins to gather, settle or travel through it en route to elsewhere. In 1263 AD, eight years before the Southern Song Dynasty ended, the official registry registered three thousand Muslim households, the majority of which were in the wealthy and the privileged classes.¹ Among these Muslims were a handful of renowned individuals, such as Mahmud Yalavach (?–1254 AD), Sayyid Ajjal Shams al-Din Omar al-Bukhari 1211–1279 AD), Ahmad Fanakati (1220?–1282 AD), Daulat Shah, Jamal ad-Din, Amir al-Din (?–1312 AD), Gao Kegong (高克恭) (1248–1310 AD) and Shams (1278–1351 AD) etc., all of whom lived in Beijing for most of their lives. The Central Secretariat of the Yuan also appointed an official to administer nationwide Muslim affairs. According to *Tuhfat al-nuzzar* by Ibn Battuta, the Mongol Khan even appointed a national Muslim leader and called him Pashay Qan.² The Central Secretariat of the Yuan set positions for Huihui, such as the Superintendents of Astronomy and Medication, where offices stored many texts related to Islamic cultures.

In 1421 AD, Emperor Yongle of the Ming announced the move of the capital from Nanjing to Beijing, thus restoring the influence in the capital of Muslims who followed the move of the emperor. Official status was conferred on the four major mosques in Beijing, namely Faming (法明), Pushao (普壽), Libai (禮拜) and Qingzhen (清真); Muslims in Beijing were individually granted official positions in four categories, namely bureaucratic, military, hereditary and religious. Furthermore, Beijing was a major cultural market for circulating Islamic texts. Indications are that Hu Dengzhou (胡登洲) said he had seen an Islamic classic from a street stall of an old lady in Beijing, and that Liu Zhi (劉智) bought a dozen Islamic classics from Wu's collection in Beijing.

Moving into the Qing Dynasty, the role that Beijing played as the center of Islam became more significant. The first evidence is that increased numbers

1 Han Rulin (韓儒林), *History of Yuan (Yuanchaoshi元朝史)* (Beijing: Renmin chubanshe, 1986), 349.

2 Ibn Battuta, *Tuhfat al-nuzzar fī ghara'ib al-amsar wa-'aja'ib al-asfar (Yiben-Baitutai youji 伊本·白圖泰遊記)*, tran. Ma Jinpeng (馬金鵬) (Yinchuan: Ningxia renmin chubanshe, 1985), 561; below the page indicates that "Probably a corruption of the Persian Title Padshah."

of Uyghurs came to the city and were allowed, by an imperial decree, to build a mosque in their settlements at Xichang Street (西長街), and a complementary stone monument was engraved accordingly. The second evidence is that the Qing court intentionally promoted Islam in Beijing as a model for the rest of the empire, or aimed to “educate” all the Muslims in the empire by means of lessons learned from Islam in Beijing. An oft-repeated saying suggests, “Ring the bells of the capital, thereby warning the whole nation.” Meanwhile, Beijing became an Islamic center for cultural and intellectual exchanges. A list of renowned scholars, such as Wang Daiyu (王岱輿), Ma Zhu (馬注), Liu Zhi (劉智), Jin Tianzhu (金天柱), She Yunshan (舍蘊善), Wang Kuan (王寬) and Yang Zhongming (楊仲明), were very active in Beijing during their lifetimes.

After the Kuomintang came to rule in 1911, the political center shifted away from Beijing, however, Muslims in Beijing overcame difficulties in sustaining their religion during the turbulent time by promoting *madrasahs* and Islamic culture, loving both their country and their religion, and making substantial contributions to their religion and maintaining the primary status of Beijing as the flagship of the Islamic fleet in China.

Since the Chinese Communist Party came to rule in 1949, Beijing has been a venue for the national Islamic religious organization, the Chinese Islamic Association, which organizes and steers the highest institute for Islamic studies, the Chinese Islamic Institute, and is responsible for its official publication, *Chinese Muslims*, with a worldwide distribution. The above three establishments, located only in Beijing are central to the continued development of Chinese Islam.

1.2 *Beijing as the Window of the World to Know Islam*

Since the Yuan Dynasty, Islam in Beijing has been considered by the outside world to be the window into Chinese Islam. Beijing Muslims were the subjects of famous writings, such as *Marco Polo's Journey to the East* in the 13th century, *Tuhfat al-nuzzar* by Ibn Battuta, which was finished in 1356, *China Travel Notes* by 'Ali Akber in 1516. *Islam in China: A Neglected Problem* by English author, Marshall Broomhall, which was first published in 1910, and *Recherches Sur les Musulmans Chinois* which was published in 1911. Among these writings, *China Travel Notes* took Beijing as the center of Islam in the author's observations, but Beijing as the window open to the world of Chinese Muslims was, after centuries, officially confirmed after 1978 as Deng Xiaoping (鄧小平) came to power and started the Open Door Policy.

Two supplementary points can be added to “Beijing as the window of the world as an Islamic center.” First, not only does the world observe Beijing in

terms of Islam itself, Chinese policies, functioning as a parameter of internal social stability are applied to Chinese Islam as well. Second, China would welcome any observations made by foreign countries of Chinese Muslims and related policies applied to them, historically and at present, but on the condition that they take observations in an analytic manner.

1.3 *Islam: One of Four Major Religions in China*

Beijing has long been the center that displays the enriched inheritances of four major religions, namely Buddhism, Christianity, Islam and the native Taoism. All of these religions set their national offices in Beijing today. Islam is characterized by its continual influence in the historical timeline, having spread in almost all regions in China, and with distinctive Chinese character.

2 Introduction of Islam in Beijing

It is difficult to know the exact dates of Islam's introduction to China, and the exact date of the introduction of Islam into Beijing is also highly disputable. Up to the present, there are two main claims about these exact dates. The first one suggests 996 AD, around the time of the Northern Song Dynasty, the other suggests as late as the Yuan Dynasty (1271–1368 AD). The first claim is mainly based upon publications mentioning the construction of Niujie Mosque in Beijing, e.g. *The Encyclopedia of Chinese Islam* (*Zhongguo Yisilan baike quanshu* 中國伊斯蘭百科全書) and *The Islamic Dictionary* (*Yisilanjiao cidian* 伊斯蘭教辭典), and these statements are generally supported by *The General Introduction of A History of Islamic Stone Monuments* (*Gujiao xilai lidai jiansi yuanliu beiwen zongxulue* 古教西來歷代建寺源流碑文總序略), also known as “the white monument” (*Baibian* 白匾, literally an inscribed board). Jiang Lixun (姜立勳), a proponent of the later dates of Islam's introduction in Beijing wrote in his book, *Religions in Beijing* (*Beijing de zongjiao* 北京的宗教), that the exact dates of the first introduction ranged from 1215 to 1271 AD. This suggested date range was the period between the Mongolian invasion of the Jin period and the founding of the Yuan Dynasty at which time Beijing was chosen as the capital. Jiang hence deduced that “Islam in Beijing started in the early Yuan Dynasty.”³

With regard to determining the date of introduction, I argue that the claim that the introduction of Chinese Islam occurred in the Northern Song Dynasty was a misreading of the “white monument,” which does not describe the exact

3 Jiang Lixun (姜立勳), Fuli (富麗) & Luo Zhifa (羅志發), *Religions in Beijing* (*Beijing de zongjiao* 北京的宗教) (Tianjin: Tianjin guji chubanshe, 1995), 186–187.

dates of Sheikh Jamal ad-Din and the exact place of his arrival. It is difficult to ascertain whether Jamal ad-Din visited the imperial court in the Eastern Capital (now Kaifeng, 開封) or other capitals like the Southern Capital of Liao (now Beijing). However, in the imperial year in which he arrived ("The Second Year of Zhidao, Northern Song Dynasty," or 996 AD), it is supposed that he arrived at the Eastern Capital, instead of the Southern Capital of Liao. Furthermore, according to the description of the experiences of Jamal al-Din and his three sons as given in the "white monument," the sequence of events in time should be: 1) Jamal al-Din's visiting China, 2) foretelling in Jamal al-Din's dream that he would have three children, 3) two of his sons would be ordained to lead adherents for which permission to build mosques was granted by imperial decree, 4) two mosques were constructed, in Dongguo (東郭) and Nanjiao (南郊). It is conceded that, though the dates for building the mosques are mentioned on the monument, the exact dates they were constructed lagged two or three decades behind, ca 996 AD.

In fact, the white monument was restored twice: the first time in 1630 AD and the second in 1781 AD. The textual authenticity of the monument is dubious with possible editing and deletions of the original texts as inscribed during the Northern Song Dynasty. In addition, a piece of contradictory evidence was found in 1850 AD on the monument of Madian Mosque (馬店禮拜寺) in Beijing, which reads, "In the times of Emperor Zhenzong of Song, 998–1022 AD) a sheikh called Nasruddin Sa'adud (那速魯丁·撒阿都的) was granted the building of a mosque by an imperial decree." This contradicts what the white monument shows about first introduction of Chinese Islam.

Most importantly, what is written on the white monument recounts a legend, without any cross-reference or other historical evidence. Knowing this, we can still learn about the time and location of Islam's introduction into China, but it is not completely reliable information.

Equally disputable, however, is the argument made in *Religions in Beijing*. Jiang's proposed period, half a century before the founding of the Yuan Dynasty, is unconventional compared to what most Chinese historians usually suggest. Also, Jiang's notion ignores the fact that Islam had been preached elsewhere, with historical evidence, in Guihua Zhou (歸化州) (now Xuanhua [宣化], Hebei), Shangjing (上京) (now Baarin Left Banner in Inner Mongolia) and other places around today's Hohhot in Inner Mongolia and Kaiyuan (開原) in Liaoning.⁴ Furthermore, commercial exchanges between Muslims

4 "List of Vassal States, History of Liao (*Liao shi-shuguo biao* 遼史·屬國表)," "Geographic Records, History of Liao (*Liao shi-dilizhi* 遼史·地理志)," "Biography of Zhange Hannu (*Jin shi-zhange hannu chuan* 金史·粘割韓奴傳)," "Brief Report of Discovering mural tombs

with Han merchants were historically found in the present-day Beijing and on the grasslands of Mongolia.

Rather than these two options, the first, which concerns the possible corrections of the inscribed texts, and the second in relation to the geographical locations where, historically, Muslims did exchanges with Chinese, we instead opt for a third alternative explication of such problem. The third approach is to broaden the timelines and geographical scope that cover the two claims, i.e. from the 11th to 13th century, and undertake more archeological and research work concerning the exact times of the first introduction of Islam in Beijing. Research has yet to be done in relation to the times described in the white monument, as the earliest, and *Religions of Beijing*, historically locating them as the latest, as reference points.

3 Mosques in Beijing

Mosques in Beijing are one of the expressions of Chinese Islam's prime qualities: not in terms of numbers, or their history as the earliest buildings, or their occupancy in squares of meters, but for other features.

The first feature is indicated by four mosques that were granted official status and special privileges by Ming imperial decree—each contain plaques that were engraved with the emperors' calligraphy; the head of the mosque was granted a licensing certificate and a hat ribbon that proved his official status of leading the adherents in burning incense, practicing monasticism, and praying for longevity of the emperor, and all head-, land- and other miscellaneous taxes were waived. Even parts of the renovations of the mosque were officiated at by the Ming emperor.

According to the historical material provided, such official mosques, during the Ming, were also found in Yingtian Fu (應天府) (now Nanjing), Xi'an, Beijing, Dingzhou (定州), Yizhou (易州), Fengyang Fu (鳳陽府). Also, according to the text on the license for the head of Naquan (南關) Mosque, in Qinyangshui (沁陽水), Henan, a mosque was built in Daxing Xian (大興縣), at which time Jingjue (靜覺) and Libai Mosques had their structures renovated under imperial decree and contained plaques with the emperors' calligraphy. Even so, this number of official mosques in Daxing did not exceed those of Beijing, where

in Xuanhua Hebei (*Hebei Xuanhua bihuamu fajue jianbao* 河北宣化壁畫墓發掘簡報),” *Artifacts* (Wenmu 文物) 8 (1975).

there were four such mosques containing the plaques with Imperial calligraphy. The four mosques were Qianzhen, Libai, Faming and Pushao.⁵

The second feature is unique to mosques in Beijing that were built under Imperial decree for Uyghurs by the order of the Qing emperor, and these mosques served as a bridge between Muslims in central China and Xinjiang. These constitute 'four main features' of Islam associating central China and Xinjiang.

Huihui Ying (回回營) Mosque at Chang'an Street (長安街) was finished in the 29th year of Qianlong (1764 AD), and was known as "the mosque with historical connections to Xiang Fei (香妃). A stone monument, under Qianlong's decree, was installed in this mosque but was later dismantled by Yuan Shikai (袁世凱) upon his second presidency of the Republic of China.

The third feature unique to Beijing can be found in two mosques, Niujie Mosque and Dongsì (東四) Mosque, built between 1928–1938, that became national centers for Islamic education. Dongsì Mosque is where Chengda Teachers' College (*Chengda Shifan* 成達師範) for Islamic education was based.

The fourth and leading feature of Beijing mosques is the "grandeur of advocating Islam that reflects its past glory," which is fully reflected and crafted in the Niujie Mosque, and recorded on the monument of the mosque built in 1613 AD. It reads, "In general, admiring the towers and roofs is not as good as admiring the religion, which more magnificent; it is just as the shining of colorful paintings is not as good as the shining of jade." Niujie Mosque was renovated several times: laying the foundation in 1427 AD; hall extensions in 1442 AD; gifted with a plaque with the emperor's calligraphy in 1474 AD; halls and other buildings extended again with its increasing endowments, thus increasing the whole building complex within a century, with even larger, deeper and taller halls making the sound of prayer inside deep and moving.

The fifth leading feature of mosques in Beijing is the conventional and consolidated hereditary succession of religious leadership. According to *Mosques* (*Mantan Qingzhensi* 漫談清真寺) by Yang Yongchang (楊永昌), such a system of hereditary arrangements in Beijing started in the 14th century AD. The arrangements were also consolidated by the Ming officialdom. Because of such hereditary succession at Beijing mosques, being under the auspices of the Chinese bureaucracy in the Ming capital, personal struggles for the succession of the final leadership became more intensified than elsewhere.

5 Akbar Ali, *Khataynamih* (*Zhongguoji hang* 中國紀行), ed. Zhang Zhishan (張至善) (Beijing: Shanluan shudian 1988), 46. The Yuan emperor ordered the building of four mosques in Hahbaliq (Beijing) and there were 90-something mosques officially built in the territories of China. It is most likely that the Yuan government built the so-called official mosques.

Yang also describes a struggle among the personnel of Niujie Mosque: authentic records of ascending successors, hat ribbons, and names of assistants and *muezzin* were either defaced or destroyed in 1613 AD., and licenses were clandestinely changed in 1630 AD.

The consolidating practice of such hereditary succession was evidenced by its continuation over two and a half centuries. It was recorded that Wang Yunqing (王允卿), a disciple of Chang Zhimei (常志美), an Islamic scholar in the late Ming, travelled to Beijing to study. There, the mosque staff treasured his talent and opened the door to welcome his arrival. According to *Record of Gang* (*Gangzhi* 岡誌), “the leader, Bei Shixiang (白世祥), known for his prudent words and his virtuous mind, became very humble towards Wang, bowed to show his reverence to Wang and to request Wang to be an honorable member of the mosque he chaired.” This event illustrates that the idea of “Abolishing the Hereditary Successions of the Tripartite Leadership of Mosques” advocated by Chang Zhimei might have exerted certain influences on mosques in Beijing. In 1804, the monument of Changying (長營) Mosque in Tongzhou (通州), following a prefectural prohibition of hereditary succession, warned that the followers could not engage in the practice; the same warning was also found on the monument at Landianchang (藍靛廠) Mosque in 1830, where it was written, “From now on, no hereditary *imam* is allowed.” But according to the monument of Shahe (沙河) Mosque in Changping (昌平) erected in 1915, the *imam* and his son-in-law committed murder in an attempt to stop the reporting of a crime at the mosque. The offenders were later convicted, the hereditary system was then abolished and the private land of the mosque was confiscated. At another mosque at Jinshifang Street (鋪什坊街), as noted by Tang Zongzheng (唐宗正), the *imam* manipulated every matter related to his mosque, and even the hired *ahong* could not play the role of checks and balances except in ceremonial matters. This imbalance of power, concentrated in the hands of the *imam*, did not change until his death in 1925.

The sixth leading feature of Beijing mosques, compared to others elsewhere in China, is their rich collection of relics and precious historical documents. Dongsì Mosque possesses the hand-written script of the Quran by Mohammed bin Ahmed (acquired in 1318 AD) The rooftop, which was made of copper and had a dome, was engraved with “成化丙午造” (meaning “constructed in the year of *Chenghua bin wu*,” or 1486). The Mosque also had a set of porcelain screens with Arabic calligraphy of the word *Shahada* (belief in the oneness of God and the acceptance of Muhammad as God’s prophet) in blue script against a white background with gold-coated edges in addition to three incense burners made in the Ming Dynasty.

An incense burner, under Imperial decree, was gifted to Niujie Mosque with the Chinese characters for “the imperially granted mosque” (*chi ci libaisi* 敕賜禮拜寺). The following was also given: materials for the license of the mosque dated in 1630 AD. (thought to be lost according to the book *Beijing Niujie*), the engraved imperial decree written by Emperor Kangxi dated in the 33rd Year (1694 AD), a carriage and a copper pot awarded by Kangxi, thirty copies of the Quran, supposedly copied by a Chinese *ahong* in both Arabic and Persian almost three centuries ago, and many other items.

4 Beijing Sheikhs and Their Tombs

Those who research Beijing’s Islamic history soon discover that the legends of sheikhs and their tombs have an even longer history than mosques in Beijing.

The tombs of the first Islamic cleric to Beijing, Nasruddin and his three sons as mentioned before, have not yet been located, however, monuments with inscriptions written in Arabic, commemorating the deaths of two sheikhs, one in 1280 AD and the other in 1284 AD, are located in the small garden of Niujie Mosque, which was considered by Zhao Zhenwu as evidence that Niujie Mosque “started as early as in the Yuan Dynasty.”

The monuments of the tombs, located in Heying, Chongping, relate to Sufi mysticism and were possibly built in the early Ming (1368–1644 AD),⁶ but the complex was largely extended between 1573–1620, during the reign of Ming Emperor, Shenzong.

In the Qing, more “Baba” (sheikh) tombs were built and located at Chaoyang (朝陽) Gate and these were written in Chinese in 1852 AD, Nan Xuyu (藍煦于) mentioned, “the tomb of Master Sa-ying (灑英祖師),” in reference to similar content as inscribed on the monuments in Heying. It is alleged that the tomb is located at the outset of the Fucheng (阜城) Gate. It is likely that the tombs at Heying, those at Fucheng (阜城) Gate, and the “Baba” tombs at Chaoyang (朝陽) Gate belong to the same person.

After 1911, the *Zhenzong News Monthly* (*Zhen Zong Bao Yuekan* 震宗報月刊) published and widely circulated during the Republic Era many articles about sheikhs with their “mythical” performances of miracles.

There are, in my view, at least three main features of these tombs and legends in relation to sheikhs.

6 In accordance with the monument (*Zhongxiu xianxian mubei ji* 重修先賢墓碑記) erected in 1578, on it the inscription shows “the texts are impenetrable, thus being found difficult to understand by generations after.”

First of all, as in cities, such as Guangzhou, Quanzhou (泉州), and Yangzhou (揚州) etc., the introduction of Islam in Beijing relied heavily on the circulation of legends in parallel to the times and dates of introducing Islam and building mosques. But the exact dates of such legends, unexamined and not verified with other evidence, were taken for granted as a part of the introduction of mosques in different Chinese cities, thereby making the finding of further evidence difficult.

Second, Beijing Islam contains much-emphasized mysticism. It was believed that sheikhs could “stay alive in their death,” “act according to their instantaneity and senses,” and “throw away their turban and magically turn it into a white python.” A sheikh can tell prophecies in somebody’s dreams, and “save somebody’s life from suffering.” So the adherents ask for blessings at the side of a sheikh’s tomb by “asking a Baba for help in praying to Allah” for blessing their descendants to grow up healthily; people divined in front of the tomb, asking for any indication that a future event would be good or bad, searching for the location of lost items; asking if an illness would get better or worse; requesting any signs for shortcuts to success; and saving a person’s life from his or her impending death. All these depicted as miracles performed by sheikhs were under deep influences by Sufism, but some writers, like Tang Zongzheng, commented on these as “uncanny, myth-like folk stories.”

Third, a study of the history of Beijing Islam shows that Islam reached its peak influence in the Ming, during Emperor Shenzong’s rule. This assessment is based upon the fact that more imperial guards converted to Islam, as found in the positions of sheikhs and the contents inscribed on stone.

The person who came up with the idea of building a sheikh’s monument at Heying in 1578 was the military officer, Ma Nanxi (馬南溪); the epitaph writer was Ma Fang (馬芳). The persons who were determined to produce *The Inscription of the Sages’ Tomb* (*Xianxianmu beiji* 先賢墓碑記) and *The Inscription of Astrology and Divination* (*Tianjing zhanke biji* 天經占課碑記) at the Heying monument in 1618 were the military officer Zhang Dajin (張大縉) and his three sons. The persons who expressed their feelings about the Heying monument were the commander Yang Yingrui (楊應瑞) and his three sons.

Most of the monuments at the Heying sheikh tombs suggest that the deceased commemorated there performed meritorious miracles on behalf of the Ming military operations.

One example describes the military unrest in Tumubao (土木堡之變) in 1449 AD. The sheikh, who had made a pilgrimage to Mecca, told Emperor Yingzong that someday Tumubao would be returned to the Ming court. Another monument depicts a sheikh, in 1550 AD, riding on his camel to dispel rioters and restore security and order of the border. Those events, as suggested

earlier, were tales rather than truth. A more reasonable explanation is that they were intended to boost the morale of the military staff and also promote the status of the sheikhs.

5 Islamic Figures in Beijing

It is undoubted that Beijing had the most well-known figures in relation to Islam who exerted their political and cultural influences. According to the *Encyclopedia of Chinese Islam*, the entries in the category, “Chinese and foreign personae,” twenty out of forty-one “renowned Islamic scholars, *imams*” were in Beijing.

We categorize these entries in accordance with their significance in the timeline of Chinese Islamic history, and include twenty-one items illustrating their characteristics.

1. Sheikh: Sheikh Jamuddin and his three sons, Sheikhs Sadruddin, Nasruddin, Sa'aduiddin; Sheikh Ahmad Burtani and Sheikh Ali and Sheikh Bahachi.
2. *Sayyid*: the great-great grandson of Sofeier the traditional founder of the Pavillion to Respect the Qur'an at the Niujie Mosque, Muhammad the son of Kanmading, and his own son Sayyid Shams al-Din Omar, the judge or *qadi* of Yanjing Road.
3. *Hajji*: Burhan al-Din of Sagharj mentioned in *Tuhfat al-nuzzar. The History of Yuan (Yuan Shi 元史)*, volume 32, *Wen Zong Ji (文宗紀)* records the Hui hajji Hahadi.
4. *Danishmand*: a general, term of address for all Islamic clerics, and used with the Chinese terms Heshang (和尚, monk) and Xiansheng (先生, or 道士 *daoshi*, or Masters of Dao), which could also be used as a person's name. An example of this was a dervish buried in 1317 AD in the eastern suburb of Beijing, whose name was *Danishmand*. Unlike *hajji* being responsible for law and arbitrations, *Danishmand* not only held administrative offices for daily religious affairs, but also conducted mercantile activities as ordinary tradesmen.
5. *Mullah*, like the major defender of the case of Burhaddin, the man from Bukhara who preached in Qanbaliq during Kublai Khan's rule.
6. Muslim bureaucrats: Zhao Rong (趙榮), of the sub-secretariat of Drafting Decrees and Imperial Documents who wrote the memorial tablets of the Dongsì Mosque under imperial decree, Chen Xiwen (陳希文), who once

held office as the sub-secretariat of the Board of Punishment and drafted the monument inscription, *A Chronicle of the Renovation of Tongzhou Great Mosque*, and Ma Hualong (馬化龍), the Prefect of Changzhou (常州) who played a role assisting in the renovation of the *Tongzhou Great Mosque*.

7. Muslim military officials: Chen You (陳友), the Under-Secretary of the Zhili Viceroy (under the direct command of the imperial capital) of Salt Trade and Customs, solely sponsored Dongsi Mosque; Zhan Sheng (詹升), the leader of the imperial guards who officially submitted the name of Niujie Mosque for the Court's approval, and Ma Jinliang (馬進良), the Under-Secretary of the Viceroy of the capital of Salt Trade and Customs of the Zhili Viceroy who completed the memorial tablet of the sheikh's tomb at Heying in 1712 AD.
8. Imperial house servants: Yang Yongxu (楊永旭), the deputy official of the Department of Alcohol and Vinegar of the Imperial Storehouse who assisted in renovating Niujie Mosque; Liu Sheng (劉升), a eunuch of the Costumes Department; He Jiang (何江), a eunuch of the Rites Utensils Department; Yang Yong (楊永), a eunuch of the Department of Imperial Possessions and Messaging; in 1605, the eunuch of the Department of Rites, Li Shao (李壽), supervised the building of Xishanlihe (西三里河) Mosque in the western suburb, which, as late as in 1623, was renovated with the help of eunuchs Jin Liangfu (金良輔) and one other with the surname Ma; the Huihui Yu Yong (回回人于永) as mentioned in *History of Ming*, under the title of Qian Ning (錢寧) in the chapter of "the crafty and the fawning."
9. Hereditary leaders.
10. Muslim students taking the imperial examination: Ma Shande (馬三德) and Ma Fengchun (馬逢春), whose names were mentioned on the monument, erected in 1519 AD, of Tongzhou Great Mosque.
11. Muslim scientists: Sheikh Muhammad, an astronomer, followed Emperor Yongle of Ming to the new capital, Beijing; another astronomer, Yang Guangxian (楊光先), the Superintendent of Astronomy in Kangxi's court, openly opposed the astronomical methods introduced by Western missionaries.
12. Ordinary attendants: the monument of Tongzhou Great Mosque mentioned attendant Li Feng (李鳳) and others, with more than a hundred in total.
13. *Imams*: Hu Dengzhou (胡登州), She Yunshan (舍雲善), Wang Shouqian (王守謙).

14. Islamic Scholars: renowned scholars like Wang Daiyu (王岱輿), Ma Zhu (馬注), Liu Zhi (劉智), Mi Wanji (米萬濟), Jin Tianchu (金天柱), Yang Zhongming (楊仲明), Chen Keli (陳克禮).
15. *Ahong*: Wang Kuan (王寬), Da Pusheng (達浦生), Wang Jingzhai (王靜齋), Ma Songting (馬松亭), Zhao Mingzhou (趙銘周), Pang Shiqian (龐士謙) and Sha Mengbi (沙夢弼).
16. The elders in mosques: San Ba (三爸) and Jin Yuting (金玉亭) in Huashi (花市) Mosque during the Republican Era.
17. Muslim merchants: the patrons of Imam She Yunshan (舍雲善) with the surnames Zhang and Jin in the East City; the patrons of Madian Mosque's renovations in 1850.
18. Muslim medical doctors: Ma Wenzhi (馬文智), who wrote Preface to *the Principles of the Oneness* (*Yi yuan tong hui* 一元統會) for Xisanlihe Mosque; Ding Baochen (丁寶臣) who later gave up medical practice to found the publication *Journal of the Truly Patriotic* (*Zhengzong Aiguo Bao* 正宗愛國報); Ding Zhuyuan (丁竹園) (1870–1935 AD) of Madian origin.
19. Islamic Historians: Chen Yun (陳垣), Chen Hanzhang (陳漢章), Bai Shouyi (白壽彝), Jin Jitang (金吉堂), Ma Jian (馬堅), Na Zhong (納忠).
20. Muslim collectors of antique documents: Zhencanghua Baba (珍藏花巴巴) who examined the handwritten scripts of the Quran, copies, extensions and supplements; Liu Zhongquan (劉仲泉) (1885–1957), the known collector in Niujie.
21. Female Muslims: *Imam* of Haidian (海澱) Mosque, and *Ahong* of Shouliu Hutong (壽劉胡同) Heifengyi (黑奉一).

From these twenty-one categories, we have induced six major characteristics:

1. There are a large number of Muslims falling into two categories, namely Hajji and Muslims in Yuan; Muslim bureaucrats, military officers, imperial servants, and hereditary religious leaders in Ming; and *imams*, *ahongs*, and the elders of mosques in Qing.
2. Sheikhs and *Sayyids* are rather legendary and information is narrated rather than historically documented.
3. The category of *mullah* lacks substantial historical materials, qualitatively and quantitatively.
4. Some appeared in a tripartite identity of scholar, *imam*, and *ahong*. Examples are Wang Daiyu, Wang Kuan, and Wang Jingzhai.
5. As social circumstances changed, the two classes of *hajji* and *danish-mand* have faded away in history since the Ming Dynasty; the hereditary

leaders, from time to time, were detached from their status as venerable scholars and simply succeeded leadership through hereditary selections.

6. The three status groups, namely the military officials, hereditary leaders, and Imam became aristocrats in Beijing

6 An Islamic Chronology in Beijing

6.1 *The Conflict of Interpretations in the Quran*

According to pages 347–348 of *Jami' al-tawarikh* (*Compendium of Chronicles*), second volume and page 328 of d'Ohsson's *Histoire des Mongols*, first volume, there was an event: some Christians quoted the Quran in front of Kublai Khan that "those who worship several gods shall be killed." Kublai Khan then called upon some Islamic scholars and verified who said it originally. These scholars admitted the saying and Kublai Khan continued to ask, "Does your God pass down His laws and religious principles in the Quran?" Somebody nodded and replied, "We never doubt it as the Truth." Then Kublai Khan asked, "Why you don't follow your God's order if He has ordered you to kill the infidels?" "Not at this moment, we are not prepared to do so," replied the other. That agitated Kublai Khan, who said, "Then I will kill you," and ordered the execution of the replier.

Meanwhile, the treasurer and other Muslim officials requested a deferment of the execution, and advised Kublai Khan to ask a third opinion from other erudite Muslims. Kublai Khan called upon a *qadi* (religious judge at the mosque) and drilled him with the same set of questions. The *qadi* replied, but this time more aptly, "I shall point out the fact that Allah ordered us to kill the heretics and the infidels who believe in polytheism, but only these polytheists who do not believe in the only and omnipotent creator, but, your Majesty, all your decrees and laws are promulgated in the name of God that does not belong to the belief of these polytheists." Kublai Khan then changed his mind, releasing all the Muslims he had interrogated before and presented a gift to this apt person, known as Hami-al-Din of Samarkand.

6.2 *Puhaddin Deported*

According to page 328 of d' Ohsson's *Histoire des Mongols*, first volume, the deportation of Puhaddin came after the conflicting interpretations of the Quran mentioned above, but it is briefer than the depiction of the same event on pages 346–347 of *Jami' al-tawarikh* (*Compendium of Chronicles*), second volume. The event started when Kublai Khan shared the food of a feast to the just

arrived Muslim tradesmen, who immediately refused, stating, “it is our taboo.” Their refusal infuriated Kublai Khan, who took revenge by ordering “Muslims are forbidden to butcher their poultry by cutting their necks; those who infringe on this order will be executed, and those who report such infringements will be rewarded.” Then the Christian Isa Kelemi (Isa, in Arabic, means Jesus; *kelemi* means translator) incited the slaves to report their masters’ infringements to the Yuan court. Some slaves reported as such to the Yuan court in relation to Puhaddin from the Khanate of Bukhara, who preached in Qanbaliq (now Beijing), and was “later deported to the lands where barbarians lived.”⁷

Meanwhile, Kublai Khan’s order of such prohibition, which lasted for seven years, dispelled almost all Muslim merchants, thereby greatly reducing national revenue for trade tariffs and precious tributary items. Then some rich Muslims merchants in Qanbaliq used a large amount of money to bribe the Prime Minister Sengge, who convinced Kublai Khan to rescind the order.

6.3 *Repeatedly Dismissing the Head of the Bureau of Hajji*

The Bureau of Hajji was the sole official, nationwide administration of Muslims in the Yuan Dynasty, supposedly the peak of Chinese Islam, but only a few historical sources recorded the details of this administration, which implies insufficient knowledge and a need for further research. Here is a brief outline of this administration in the *History of the Yuan Dynasty*:

The Fourth Lunar Month of 1311 AD: Dismissing the Secretariat of the Bureau of Hajji (Scroll 24, *The Annals of Renzong* [*Ren zong ji* 仁宗紀]).

The Last Lunar Month in 1312 AD: all Muslims have the blessing of the Secretariat, who is responsible for the legal disputes among them, prior to the appointment of the emperor under his decree (Scroll 24, *The Annals of Renzong* [*Ren zong ji* 仁宗紀]).

The Eighth Lunar Month in 1328 AD: Dismissing the Secretariat of The Bureau of Hajji (Scroll 32, *The Annals of Wenzong* (*wen zong ji* 文宗紀)).

“All *hajji* masters have the right to require or stop *imams*’ praying and are in charge of criminal laws, marriage registries, household taxes, and legal proceedings of ordinary Muslims, for all of which the Secretariat is responsible” (Scroll 102, *Chronicle of Criminal Law* [*xing fa zhi* 刑法志]).

7 The person deported to the Muslims settlements was believed to be Puhaddin, who died in 1275 on a boat from Tianjin and was buried in Yangzhou. His tomb is a well-known tourist destination.

The text under the title of “legal proceedings (*Ci song* 詞訟)” is in relation to the duties of *hajji* masters in Scroll 29, *The Administrative Law of Yuan* (*da yuan tong zhi tiao ge* 大元通制條格). It states that, the Fourth Day of the Tenth Lunar Month in 1311 AD, the Secretary of Imperial Drafts and Records drafted and promulgated the decree that “the Master of Hajji instructs his *imam*, and is held responsible for matters in relation to criminal labels (if applicable) for Muslims, their marriage registries, their household taxes, their legal suits with proceedings wherever appropriate. The master has the right to investigate these civic matters, related to Muslims.

In view of these five pieces of historical evidence, as in the cases of Nestorianism, Taoism and Buddhism, the Yuan set separate bureaus in the central government for administering different religions in matters like promulgating the religion, selecting talents, and rites. The initial administration for Muslims was known as “the Secretariat of Hajji,” later renamed as “the Bureau of Hajji,” but both coexisted for a period of time. Once a head administrator of the bureau was ordered to step down, the other head in the secretariat was also ordered to do so. Later, the heads were appointed again by renewing the imperial decree related to dismissals, but the duties of the heads were restricted to religious matters like passing the rites and reciting the Holy Scriptures, and not for their power to take legal proceedings and judgments for Muslims’ civic matters.

Notwithstanding the duties and power assigned by the Yuan court, it is still a mystery that we still do not know when these officials were first appointed, what was the purpose the ranks and profiles, the anticipated measures for Muslims after the Yuan ended the appointment of these officials, etc. Up to this moment, we have no intention to delve into these issues for the sake of the limited pages that have no room for such a detailed discussion.

According to Ohsson’s *Histoire des Mongols*, first volume, during Ramadan in 1252 AD, the Muslims led by Möngke Khan celebrated the festival, and their prayers were led by a *Qadi Zhamaluding Hemu* (剌馬魯丁合木) and that is the first record about the setting of Islamic holidays in the calendar.⁸ The book continues, “Before Kublai Khan’s rule, the administration was set up so hastily and ranks and profiles set simply.”⁹ That implies before Kublai Khan’s rule, there was no time set for the Islamic celebrations.

8 Ohsson, *Histoire des Mongols*, 262.

9 Ibid., 296.

6.4 *Dismissing the Fear of Huihui*

A competitive usurpation occurred between the young prince Arigabag, also known as Emperor Tianshun, and Jayaatu Khan (Emperor Wenzong). On 15 August, 1328 AD, Yesun Temur (Emperor Taiding) died in Shangdu due to illness. Later El Temur, the powerful consul in Beijing (Dadu), recalled Tugh Temur and arranged for Yesun Temur's son Arigabag to be enthroned in Shangdu with the support of the Prime Minister Dawlat Shan and other loyalists, but Jayaatu Khan was enthroned in Dadu. Then both rival armies of Arigabag and Jayaatu fought fiercely near Dadu in the Ninth Lunar Month.

Jayaatu issued a decree, "the disloyal ministers Dawlat Shan and the Semuren plotted against me by forgetting what our ancestors ordered about the imperial descent, committed treason, and their crimes have been proved and convicted. The Huihuis if they have not been involved in this treason should not be worried, but if so otherwise, they will be convicted" (Chronicles of Emperor Wenzong, Scroll 32 of *History of Yuan* [*Yuan Shi* 元史]).

The decree, by pacifying Hui inhabitants in Dadu, in fact intended to warn the Huis not to collaborate with Dawlat Shan, Jayaatu's enemy. The decree, along with the repeated dismissal of the *hajji* leaders, made 1328 AD, in which three reigns of Yuan (namely Zhihe 致和, Tianshun 天順, and Tianli 天歷) existed simultaneously, a watershed year in the Islamic history of Beijing and even China.

6.5 *The Imperial Officiating of the Names of Four Great Beijing Mosques*

According to the monument of Niujie Mosque, erected in 1613, its name was made official by the emperor with the endorsement of the military commander of Beijing, and named as Libaisi (禮拜寺) (Congregating Mosque) in 1474.

Dongsi Mosque, alternatively, was imperially named Qingzhensi (清真寺), as engraved on a gifted plaque with the calligraphic seal of the emperor after its completion.

According to the monument erected in 1580 AD, the Annaiertiao Mosque was officially named Famingsi (法明寺) after its completion in 1448 AD, with a note from 1447–1448 AD.

A plaque, with imperial calligraphic notes, shows the official name as Pushousi (普壽寺), "as imperially named", but the exact date for officiating and naming the mosque is not found in other known historical sources.

In the Ming Dynasty, the naming of a newly built mosque was officiated by the imperial court with the emperor's notes and the imperial stamp in red as signification of higher status than that of an ordinary, civic mosque. An official from the Ministry of Rites delivered a handwritten license and a set consisting of official hat and belt to the head of the mosque with a scroll of imperial

decree in relation to his official confirmation. According to existing documents, however, usually the confirmation came after the calligraphic notes of the emperor on the plaque with the official name of the mosque.

6.6 *The Blasphemy of Longfu (隆福) Temple*

The construction of Longfu Temple for Buddhist monks was completed between 1450–1456 and many passers-by visited it. A crowd of clerics gathered in the hall of the Temple. Suddenly a Muslim wielded an axe and killed two monks and harmed another two or three. The killer was then arrested and sent to the magistrate, where he was thoroughly interrogated. The criminal said that in the temple he saw the new *luncang* (輪藏, a rotational bookshelf for storing Buddhist scriptures), on which images of Muslims were carved as laborers who push the shelf to rotate. He pitied those figures who were stuck in the endless hard work, felt hatred towards the monks, and thus, killed them. That was the only reason for the killing. The Muslim, later convicted of murder, was executed in the market.

The murder was a tragic event, for which the monks-in-charge were held responsible, and it affected the original good relations and good-natured impressions of the Muslims towards others believing in other religions. Though seldom recurring, these events had unpleasant consequences.

6.7 *The Separation of East and West Niujie Mosques*

The older Temple Mosque was built at the Eastern side of Xijielu (西街路), and was dubbed the West Mosque. Approaching the end of the Ming Dynasty, members of the old mosque decided to pray in the ritual practice of *duban* (獨班, in which the *imam* or *ahong* would stand in front of the adherents, leading the prayer). Some other Muslims, namely the Yang and Li lineages, severely objected to *duban* and raised money to build another mosque at the Western side of Dongjielu (東街路), later known as the East Mosque or the Smaller Mosque (which performs the older ritual of *lianban* (連班), in which the leading *imam* or *ahong* would stand alongside with other adherents). Religious rivalries began from this separation.

6.8 *Wang Daiyu Saying his Treatise*

According to Tang Zongzheng's article "Fuwai Sanlihe (阜外三里河) Mosque,"¹⁰ in the Mid-Autumn of 1650 AD, Wang Daiyu travelled to the Dongsanli River (東三里河) in Shandong and entered Tieshan (鐵山) Temple, where the abbot

10 Collected in "research on Islam in Beijing (3rd)" in *Selected References for Historical Studies of Chinese Islam* (中國伊斯蘭教史參考資料選編).

identified Wang and recited ten fragments [of verses] in criticism of Islam; Wang, not delaying for a moment, employed the same rhythms and rhymes to refute what the monk had sung. Then the monk asked ten questions, and Wang, without any doubt, answered all by following the set rhythms and rhymes as sung before. The monk finally venerated the erudite knowledge of Wang and asked Wang to accept his pupilage.

The antidote about Wang was recorded in his later years and that was part of the earliest *Han Kitab*¹¹ movement radiating from Nanjing and Suzhou and extending to Beijing in the late Ming. It also shows, as a case, the circulation of Islam in China was through debates.

6.9 *Appointing Wang Yunqing as a Non-hereditary Mosque Chief*

As described above, the event indicated the beginning of the abolition of the hereditary appointments of mosque chiefs. Chang Zhimei, in supposedly the first instance in Chinese Islamic history, appointed Wang Yunqing as the mosque chief by merit in 1670.

6.10 *The Debates between She Yunshan and Wang Yunqing*

There was a debate between She Yunshan and Wang Yunqing, two descendants in the lineage of Chang Zhimei, and the moderator was An Ningyu (安寧宇).

The debate occurred in the following. She Yunshan came to Beijing after Wang Yunqing. Wang lectured on Islamic allusions, elaborating differences between interpretation of heaven and hell, while She lectured on the laws of heaven (or God), men, and life. She Yunshan took the view that the *tariqah* (order or path) was based upon the knowledge between Men and Heaven on the foundation of *Maqsd-i aqsa* ("The Highest Aim") by al-Nasafi. Wang, with his different opinion, rebutted She's position that the *Maqsd-i aqsa* was foreign and was not allowed to be a subject in a lecture in the hall in accordance with the instructions of the master (Chang Zhimei); She's position, Wang suggested, was a deliberate attempt to deliver heretical messages. It then triggered a defamatory rumor that She disseminated heretical, deviant sayings to Muslims in the Dongcheng District (東城). An attendant, Ma Ciquan (馬次泉), proposed that An Lingyu be a moderator in the She-Wang debate, and An, She and Wang met at the home of Ba Zhenyu (巴振宇) in the Liulichang district of Beijing. At the meeting, all the thirty volumes of the Quran were presented, and She and Wang, having prayed and burnt incense to purify their hearts and bodies, started their lectures and debates. The result was that neither She nor

11 Islamic texts with Islamic ideas written in Chinese and by Chinese Muslims interpreted in the context of Confucian culture and language.

Wang denied She's original position, and the defamatory rumors against She were dismissed.¹²

6.11 *The Criminal Case of Sayyid Ma Tengyun* (馬騰雲)

The case occurred in 1694, when Galdan of the Dzungars rebelled against the Qing, two suspects ul-Adha and Sakaland snuck into Beijing by following the tributary envoys to Mongolia and were well received by Ma Weiquan (馬惠泉) of Dongcheng and Sayyid Ma Tengyun of West Mosque in their homes. Later, ul-Adha was arrested, and the others, together with the mosque chief of West Mosque, Bai Shixiang, were sent to the Board for National Minority Affairs (Lifang Yuan 理藩院), where the chief, Man Pi (滿丕), handed the case to Emperor Kangxi proposing the slaughter of all Muslims in Beijing. Not favoring Man Pi's suggestion, Kangxi instead passed down the case to the Ministry again for a re-trial, and all Muslims in Beijing mosques celebrated Kangxi's wise judgment.

This case is fully covered in *Gang Zhi* (岡志). In the book of *Beijing de zongjiao* (北京的宗教), which refers to Ma Zhu's volume 8 of *Qingzhen zhinan* (清真指南), the eight doctrines describe this as a byproduct of the Niujie case.

6.12 *The New vs. Old madrasah Pedagogy*

As previously mentioned, the white-hot debate between the *lianban* and *duban* class of *madrasah* pedagogy continued in Beijing, starting in the late Ming, but the focal point of the debate at this time was Gangshansi (岡山西) Mosque, the only mosque that accepted the *duban* arrangement among all the nineteen Beijing mosques. Insisting on this old system of *madrasah* education, the chief, Bai Shixiang still took the leadership of the mosque, whereas She Yunshan took his position in support of the new single-class (*lianbian*) pedagogy. The debates were so intense that the opposing parties, for the sake of refraining from public confrontations, moved from the *mihrab* to adherents' homes.

The controversy over the issue of *lianban* and *duban* developed into a situation whereby "even women got angry when arguing about *lianban* and *duban*," and that "drinkers and rogues got into fist fights in streets because of the issue, too." The great rift between two camps even blocked them from finding an opportunity to break the ice.

12 For details of the meeting and the lectures, please refer to *Manuscript of Gangshang Mosque in Niujie, Beijing: She Yunshan on Tariqah* (*Beijing niujie gangshang libaisi zhicaogao—sheyunshangong tan lixing* 北京牛街岡上禮拜寺志草稿——舍雲善公談性理).

6.13 *Building Mosques for Muslim Settlements on the Outskirts*

In the Qing Dynasty, there were five Muslims settlements (*Huihui ying* 回回營) in the city of Beijing; among the five, only the settlement adjacent to Hepingmen included a mosque. The mosque's construction started in 1762 and was finished in 1764.

6.14 *Two Qingzhen Primary Schools and a Teachers' College for Muslims*

Two Qingzhen (Islamic) primary schools were founded by Wang Kuan (王寬, 1848–1919) and built in 1908 at the location of the rear garden of Niujie Mosque. The classes were divided into junior level and senior level and the curricula were based upon western education, including national language, arithmetic, music, physical education, history and geography, in addition to basic Arabic and the Quran. Such an education model was then mushrooming in Xisanlihe Mosque, Huashi Mosque, Jiaozihutong (教子胡同) Mosque, and Madian Mosque, and the primary schools at Niujie Mosque were dubbed Qingzhen No. 1 and Qingzhen No. 2 Primary Schools.

At the same time or earlier,¹³ Wang Kuan also founded a teachers' college, the administration of which was handled by his disciple, Da Pusheng (達浦生). The college aimed at improving pedagogy and revising curricula with a special emphasis on the equal importance of Chinese and scientific knowledge. The college was thought to be one of the earliest Muslim teachers' colleges founded in history.

6.15 *Qingzhen Education Associations and Publication House*

Ahong Yang Zhongming (1870–1952) found the Qingzhen Education Association at Huashi Mosque in 1908, the earliest organization of Islamic cultures in Chinese history. And yet, once the constitution was drafted, the Association remained dormant till Yang's death.

The Qingzhen Publication House was founded by Ahong Ma Kuilin (馬魁林, ?–1943) at his home in 1905. It was a family-based printing house that printed classics like *Tianfang dianli* (天方典禮).

13 *Religions in Beijing* (*Beijing de zongjiao* 北京的宗教) said it was “at the same time”; while Yang Zhaojun (楊兆鈞) said it was in 1907. An Ming (安銘) established another primary school in 1906, therefore it is difficult to find the exact time, and did not factor in discussions on big Islamic issues.

7 The Chinese Islamic Monuments in Beijing

The author tabulates the statistics of stone Islamic monuments in Chinese language in Beijing mosques as follows:

Mosque	Number of Monuments			
	Ming	Qing	Republic	Total
Niujie	3	2		5
Dongsi	2			2
Huashi	2	1		3
Fuwai (阜外) Sanlihe	1	2	9	12
Madian		2		2
Balizhuang Qingzhen Libaisi			1	1
Erlizhuang		1		1
Shouliu Wutong			1	1
Huihuiying (回回營) (now non-existent)		1		1
Haiding			1	1
Landianchang		3	2	5
Haiding Siwangfu (海澱四王府)			1	1
Haiding Shuchuan (海澱樹村)		2		2
Tongzhou Great	1		3	4
Tongzhou Changying (通州長營)		1	1	2
Changping	1			1
Changping Shahe		1	2	3
Changping Xiguanshi (昌平西貫)		3		3
Daxing Xihongmen (大興西紅門)		1		1
Daxing Xueying (大興薛營)		1		1
Fangshan Doudian (房山竇店)		1		1
Changping Heying Sheikhs' Tombs	4	3		7
Ma's Tombs (location not known)	1			1
Fuwai Liudaokou Diaoyutai Nan's Tomb (阜外六道口釣魚台藍氏墓地) (location not known)	1			1
Total	16	25	21	62

Unfortunately, three monuments in the Jinshifang Mosque were defaced; the monument erected in Ertiaofaming (二條法明) Mosque (1580 AD) was never located by the author at the crossroad junction; only the tomb monuments, inscribed in Chinese, of sheikhs buried in Niujie Mosque were counted, excluding other monuments in Arabic; and the total does not include the missing two monuments near Tiaozhou Hutong (笤帚胡同) outside Jiao Chengyang Men (正陽門).

The 62 monuments are divided in eight categories:

1. History of Mosques: Congregating Mosque: (*Chici libaisi beiji* 敕賜禮拜寺碑記) (1496 AD), (*Chici libaisi zengxiu beiji* 敕賜禮拜寺增修碑記) (1496 AD), (*Chici libaisi zengxiu beiji* 敕賜禮拜寺增修碑記) (1613 AD), (*Chici libaisi zhongxiu beiji* 敕賜禮拜寺重修碑記) and *The General Introduction of A History of Islam Stone Monuments* (*Gujiao xilai lidai jiansi yuanliu beiwen zongxulue* 古教西來歷代建寺源流碑文總序略) (1781 AD); Dongxi Mosque: (*Chici qingzhensi xingzao beiji* 敕賜清真寺興造碑記) (1448 AD); Fuwai Sanlihe Mosque: (*Chongxiu qingzhensi beiji* 重修清真寺碑記) (1624 AD); Tongzhou Great Mosque: (*Chongxiu chaozhensi ji* 重修朝真寺記) (1519 AD); Changping Mosque: (*Chongjian libaisi beiji* 重建禮拜寺碑記) (1616 AD), etc. The inscriptions on these monuments provide valuable information on the history of mosques, architectural styles and their administration.
2. Academic: Fuwai Sanlihe Mosque: (*Huiwen "yi yuan tong hui" jiyao zhongxu* 回文“一元統會”紀要終序) (1722 AD), (*Luyou jiuzhang beiji* 率由舊章碑記) (1850 AD), (*Ma fuxiang jing lu "wu geng yue ge" beiji* 馬福祥敬錄“五更月歌”碑記) (1923 AD). The first monument shows Beijing Muslim scholars could master Chinese proficiently when explicating the principles of Islam. The second, alternatively, shows a piece of sophisticated translation from a difficult explication of the principles of Islam written in Arabic by Cui Weiliang (崔維亮).
3. Persons: Heying Sheikhs' Tombs: (*Xianxian mubeiji* 先賢墓碑記) (1578 AD), (*Xianxian zhongyi beiji* 先賢忠義碑記) (1619 AD), (*Xiangxian Bohazhi mubei* 鄉先賢伯哈智墓碑) (1713 AD); (*Chici qingzhensi zhuchi Magong shide ji* 敕賜清真寺住持馬公世德記) (1547 AD); Fuwai Sanlihe Mosque: (*Wang Daiyu xiansheng mubeiji* 王岱輿先生墓碑記) (1923 AD) etc.
4. Regulations of Mosques: Nanding Mosque: (*Yiding buzhun fuqi zaiwei shixi yimamu beiji* 議定不准扶起在位世襲伊瑪目碑記) (1830 AD); Madian Mosque: (*Gongyi zhengdun sigui beiji* 公議整頓寺規碑記) (1885 AD); Shahe Mosque: (*Wei buzai fuzhang jiaoshi shesong panjie gaoshi beiji* 為不再扶掌教事涉訟判結告示碑記) (1915 AD), etc.

5. Imperial Decrees: Huihuiying Mosque: (*Chijian hui ren libaisi beiji* 敕建回人禮拜寺碑記) (1764 AD); Huashi Mosque: (*Shang yu beiji* 上諭碑記) (1729 AD).
6. Merits: Hushi Mosque: (*Jin Yuting daxianglao juan Huashi qingzhensi pufang gongyang benshi hailifan beiwen* 金玉亭大鄉老捐花市清真寺鋪房供養本寺海裡凡碑文) (1922 AD); Sanliehe Mosque: (*Juanzhao jingxue xuetu changnian jingfeiji* 捐招經學學徒常年經費記) (1924 AD); Shuchuan Mosque: (*Sifang qinyou zhuxiu qingzhensi ji* 四方親友助修清真寺記) (1873 AD); Xiguan City Mosque: (*Xiguan shicun Li Yongxin juanzhu suixiu dimuji* 西灌石村李永信捐助歲修地畝記) (1879 AD).
7. Miracles: Heying Sheikh's Tombs: (*Tianjing zhanke beiji* 天經占課碑記) (1618 AD); (*Shaihai qiji beiji* 篩海奇跡碑記).
8. Others: Dongsi Mosque: (*Sheng zan bei* 聖贊碑) (1519 AD); Haiding Mosque: (*Damen Chongjian tiji* 大門重建題記) (written by Imam Hei Fengyi, circa 1911 AD).

8 Contemporary Changes in Beijing Islam

We have not, thus far, included the events of the Kuomintang Era (1911–1949), but this does not mean these events that we shall describe below are not insignificant. On the contrary, Beijing Islam was still the locomotive of the nationwide changes of Chinese Islam during this period. In regard to these contemporary changes in Chinese Islam as a pivot of the whole historical transformation of Islam in China, these changes illustrate theoretical and practical significance worthy of being singled out as an independent topic.

What makes the contemporary changes in Chinese Islam meaningful was that the end of the imperial-feudal system and its replacement by a republican polity after 1911 AD allowed for a fresh start with a new type of capitalism. Such a structural, drastic change changed Chinese Islam in terms of its dissemination, its content, and its organization.

But what does contemporary change to Chinese Islam mean? The author points to the alternation of forms in the content of the Sinicization of Islam during this drastic change—Chinese Islam. Such Sinicization implies two sequential stages. The first starts in the middle of the Ming Dynasty in terms of the localization and nationalization of Muslims. The second, in contrast, began in the aftermath of Huihui rebellions recurring in the middle and the late Qing, changing the forms of *madrasah* education, translations of Islam texts and *Han Kitab*, and the mushrooming *menhuan* that altogether raised the standards of scholarly discourses of Islam in China. The two stages were completed after the 1911 revolution, thereby completing the whole Sinicization

process. Here we use Chinese Islam, instead of Islam in China, to emphasize this complete process of Sinicization.

This transformation was triggered in the late Qing but it extended in a large scale, nationwide, in the Republic Era. Let us outline the major historical events that marked the transformation we shall discuss.

8.1 *New Types of Muslim Schools*

The two primary schools at Niujie Mosque, (also called Qingzhen 清真), created a model for other mosques in Beijing that took Arabic and Chinese as media of instruction, while other curricula of these schools followed the mainstream. The curriculum was also adjusted from the nine years of the Qing government to seven years (three years of junior and four years of senior education) set by the Education Ministry of the Republic government. Until 1948 before the establishment of New China, there were a total of eleven registered Muslim primary schools in Beijing.¹⁴

8.2 *The Society for the Promotion of China Islam*

Thought to be the first Islamic organization in Beijing and the sole nationwide body for Chinese Muslims, this organization was founded by Ahong Wang Haoran (王浩然), Ahong Zhang Ziwen (張子文) and others, in Huashi Mosque, 1912. They founded and ran a committee for the “Retaining Austerity as True Muslims” campaign.

8.3 *Removal of the “Long Live the Emperor for a Thousand Years” Plaques*

According to Tang Zongzheng, incense burners and the plaques on which were written, “Long live the Emperor” were placed on some altars, a “Pavilion of Imperial Edict” was built, and a “Warrant of Imperial Edict” was often hung up in some major mosques in Beijing. Other mosques would keep signs for imperial descendants, such as “the Pavilion of Royal Edict” or Signs of “Imperial Orders.” All those signs and ornaments memorializing the imperial era were removed during the Republic Era, and the pavilion was renovated into a hostel for students.

14 Jiang Lixun & Peng Nian (彭年), “From Ethnic Work in Beijing to Seeing the Change of Hui (Cong Beijing minzu gongzuo kan Huizu de bianhua 從北京民族工作看回族的變化),” in *Documentary of 50 Years of Beijing (Beijing wushinian jisi 北京五十年紀實)* (Beijing: Tongxin chubnashe, 1999).

8.4 *Islam Repositioned*

After the Qing was overthrown, a Madian native in Beijing named Ding Zhuyuan (丁竹園) urged that “protecting our country means protecting our religion; loving our country means loving ourselves,” claiming that Muslims, like brothers and sisters together, believe in Islam, and bond together like citizens contributing to the growing strength of their country. Not only is the prosperity of a country destined, and connected to a flourishing religion that brings both religious faith and resilient patriotism to new heights, but also such nationalist, constructive force of Islam would be re-positioned in a mutually beneficial co-existence between religion and nation state.

8.5 *Civic Practice of Social Responsibility*

One typical example was the meeting of Wang Kuan, the representative of the Society for the Promotion of Chinese Islam, with Dr. Sun Yat-sen, recently appointed as the President-in-transition in the inaugural year (1912) of Republic of China, who urged the support of Northwest Huihui to five different leading camps for his advocacy of republicanism.

8.6 *Inter-religion Alliance*

In order to protest against Confucianism being legitimized as the sole, official religion in China, Islamic practitioners, together with those involved in Buddhist, Protestant and Catholic religious organizations in Beijing, founded an alliance on 23 November 1912.

8.7 *Qingzhen Scholarly Association Founded*

The Qingzhen Scholarly Association was founded in 1917 by Zhang Deming (張德明) and his associates who had formerly studied altogether in a publicly-funded Beijing primary school. The Association, aiming at academic research on Islam and explicating Islamic principles, was thought to be the first Islamic scholarly association founded in China.

The Friends of Muslims (*Mu You She* 穆友社), another scholarly association, was founded in 1923. A fraction of its members split from the Friends of Muslims later, in 1925, and founded another association called the Searching Scholarly Association (*Zhuiqiu Xuehui* 追求學會), which was openly and formally established in June 1929. One year later, Friends of Islamic Studies (*Yisilan Xueyou Hui* 伊斯蘭學友會) and The Youth Association of Islam (*Zhongguo Yisilan Qingnianhui* 中國伊斯蘭青年會) were founded. These were well-known associations for Islamic scholarly activities for their times.

8.8 *Women's Mosques in Beijing*

Women's mosques in Beijing appeared somewhat later than other Islamic establishments (the first was founded in Kaifeng in the mid-Qing), but most women's mosques were located in Beijing during the Republic Era. The first was established at the junction of Shouliu Hutong and Niujie in 1922, and others were later established at Fuwai Sanlihe, Chongwai Leijia Hutong (崇外雷家胡同), Chaowai Guanyinsijie 朝外觀音寺街), Dewai Guanshang (德外關廟), Madian, etc.

8.9 *The End of Hereditary Succession*

According to *Religions in Beijing*, what shook the hereditary succession of *imams* in mosques was the complete abolition of the archaic hereditary succession of the throne advocated by the republicans, and, of course, hereditary succession in mosques was no exception. Even though the supporters of hereditary succession in Beijing mosques attempted to resist the demands for abolition as stated in the inscription "Abolishing the Hereditary Successions of the Tripartite Leadership of Mosques" (*Yongjin sanzhangjiao shixi xu* 永禁三掌教世襲序), they finally surrendered to external political pressures.

8.10 *The Publication of the Quran in Chinese Translations*

The first Chinese translation of the Quran in all thirty volumes was published by Zhonghua Yinshuaju in Beijing, 1927, and was translated by a non-Muslim Chinese named Li Tiezheng (李鐵錚). Wang Wenqing (王文清, courtesy name Jingzhai 靜齋) did another translation of the Quran, with annotations, directly from the Arabic that was published by his affiliated association, The Society for the Promotion of Chinese Islam, in 1932. Wang's translation was the first by a Chinese Muslim. Moreover, *The Supplementary Notes of the Quran* and *The Great Principles of the Quran* were completely written and published by Liu Jinbiao (劉錦標) and Yang Zhongming in Beijing, in 1943 and 1947 respectively.

8.11 *Chengda Muslim Teachers' College Moved to Beijing*

Chengda Muslim Teachers' College was established in Jinan [in Shandong province] in 1925, and following that, Ma Songting (馬松亭) was appointed as the *ahong* of Dongsipailiu (東四牌樓) Mosque in Beijing. Subsequently, Chengda Muslim Teachers' College was moved to Beijing. The college was then reshuffled in both structure and curriculum to reach a high standard of teaching.

8.12 *The Chinese Muslim Journal, Yuehua*

Ma Songting, who produced the debut issue of *Yuehua* on 5 November 1929 at Chengda Muslim Teachers' College, founded the journal. The aim of this journal was to promote Islam by introducing Muslims from around the world and promote the status of Chinese Muslims by means of acquiring more knowledge that would be beneficial to Muslim readers, and, last but not least, correcting any misunderstandings of old and new sects. *Yuehua* is thought to be the Muslim journal in China that has the longest publication history with the richest content in Islamic religion and scholarship.

More Chinese publications in relation to Islam could also be found in Beijing during the Republican Era, such as (*Zhenzongbao* 震宗報), *Chengshi College Chronicle* (*Chengshi Xiaokan* 成師校刊), (*Zhengdao* 正道), *Chengda Literary Supplement* (*Chengda Wen Hui* 成達文薈), *Qingzhen Monthly* (*Qingzhen Zhoukan* 清真週刊), *Muslim Awakenings* (*Xing Min* 醒民), *The Light of Muslims* (*Mu Guang* 穆光), etc.

8.13 *Studying Groups Travelling Abroad*

Studying abroad became popular in the Republican Era, and this included studying Islam. According to "Overview of Chinese Islamic Culture in Thirty Years" (*Sanshinianlai zhi zhongguo huijiao wenhua gaikuang* 三十年之中國回教文化概況) by Zhao Zhenwu (趙振武), studying Islam abroad started in 1921 AD, when Wang Jingzhai and his disciple Ma Hongdao (馬宏道) travelled west, "but such a plan was arranged by the institution that sent recommendations of eligible persons for the exchange to the host institute that thereby admitted them for studying abroad. The first group of exchange students, under this arrangement, travelled to Al-'Azhar al-Sarif University in Egypt." [Normally referred to simply as Al-Azhar University, this is the most respected institution of higher education in the whole of Islam.] This event dated back to 1931 AD and had no relation with the Republic government. The second group, five members from Chengda Muslim Teachers' College escorted by the Principal Ma Songting, started travelling just one year later. After arriving in Cairo, Ma met Fuad I, the King of Egypt and negotiated an agreement that the university would provide more intake quotas for Chinese students, and send two regular professors to Chengda in Beijing for teaching.

8.14 *Founding King Fuad I Library*

The library of the Chengda Muslim Teachers' College was initially sponsored by Zhao Puhua (趙璞華) who donated books for collection, starting in 1930, but the idea of constructing a library building came into realization after Ma

Songting had met King Fuad I, who together with Al-'Azhar al-Sarif University donated more books for Chengda. The Library Building, finished in 1936, was named in commemoration of the kindness and generosity of King Fuad I.

8.15 *Inviting Prominent Scholars to Lectures*

Chengda Muslim Teachers' College established its reputation and was able to invite prominent scholars in the humanities, such as Gu Jigang (顧頡剛), Xu Bingchang (徐炳昶), Han Rulin (韓儒林), Yao Congwu (姚從吾), Mei Yibao (梅貽寶), Feng Youlan (馮友蘭), and Zhang Xinglang (張星烺), to deliver lectures and speeches.

8.16 *New Wave of Publications in Cultures and History in Chinese Islam*

It is noted that there are two different angles by which to view the new wave of Chinese publications. First, the "new" publications should be distinguished from the *Han Kitab* and Chinese translations of major Islamic texts conducted in late Ming and early Qing Dynasties, which mainly served for the scriptural tradition of research on Islam; the "new texts" of Chinese Islam, regardless of the researcher and writer being a Muslim or non-Muslim, describe meaningful results of social scientific research. In other words, one type of research is subject-oriented and the other object-oriented. Second, unlike the *Han Kitab*, for which research was done by a handful of Muslims, the "new" publications do not maintain the exclusivity of such research be restricted to Muslims, and publications are often a co-production between Muslim and non-Muslim scholars.

These sixteen events as described above illustrate certain social trends that broke the tradition of "fighting for our religion, not the nation," "education is anti-Islam," "the Quran is untranslatable," and "men and women in clear, social distinction" that soon became obsolete. Instead the "new" Muslim proved to be adaptive to new cultures and patriotic when reading through the Quran and knowing its principles, and thus paid respect to the equal rights and duties of Muslims regardless of their sex.

Since then, the mentality and consciousness of Chinese Muslims have changed in obvious ways. Chinese Muslims no longer indulge themselves in the mentality that they "have been oppressed by the Qing for two centuries," and "only follow what *ahongs* have taught in the five tenets, and be restricted to life and education in the mosques." Such a negative attitude, namely lacking in motivation, reluctant to communicate with the outside world, selfish, isolated from the general Chinese society, and prioritizing religious over national consciousness, has changed into a mentality that is positive, active in social movements, cooperative with people of other religions or those with no religious

belief, and willing to fight for China's power and prosperity. With this religious consciousness together with national consciousness Muslim national, education has been raised up to a new and higher level, one in which thoughts are coherent with deeds.¹⁵

Meanwhile, the government of the Republic of China implemented certain policy measures that renewed curricula adapted to social changes, the blueprints of which, drafted by Cai Yuanpei (蔡元培) (later the Principal of Peking University) and other prominent figures in education, pointed to foster inter-religious collaborations and related scholarly activities. Cai was known as a liberal who criticized and scrapped the traditional ideas of "loyalty to the emperor," and "veneration to Confucius" that represented the old days of China. The implementation of such measures aimed to dispose of anything that represented the Chinese old days, and Beijing mosques, following this reform of "getting rid of the old," put away any ornaments of imperial content and stopped interpreting Islam with a Confucian perspective as was practiced in the Ming and Qing Dynasties.

In terms of teaching quality, Chinese Islam progressed since the 1911 Revolution. Jin Jitang (金吉堂), in his book *Studies in the History of Chinese Islam* (*Zhongguo Huijiao Shi Yanjiu* 中國回教史研究), writes: "From the time Islam started circulating in China 1,300 years ago, the period can be divided into three stages and, beginning with Wang Haoran in the late Qing, Chinese Islam moved to the fourth stage.

With reference to Jin's division of the stages of Chinese Islam, the author points to the four major religions in China (Islam, Taoism, Buddhism and Christianity) and their fresh start in education, like Wang Haoran's advocacy of new schooling and Hu Dengzhou's script education in *daotang* (道堂) that marked a new era of Chinese Islam. As stated by Zhao Zhenwu in his article "Overview of Chinese Islamic Culture in Thirty Years," "Wang Haoran advocated and founded Muslim primary schools, and many followed Wang's ambitions and founded more schools in all places of China where Muslims settled...thereby altering the forms of *madrasah* from the traditional education in mosques to modern education in primary schools and teachers' colleges with Chinese and Arabic as languages of instruction."

Parallel with education as described, Chinese Islam leapt in its religious and cultural dimensions. Its leap is observed in the multifaceted development of newly developing schools, affiliated associations, presses, publication houses,

15 Li Xinghua & Feng Jinyuan, ed., *Selected References of History of Chinese Islam, 1911–1949* (*Zhongguo Yisilan jiaoshi cankao ziliao xuanbian* 中國伊斯蘭教史參考資料選編, 1911–1949) (Yinchuanshi: Ningxia renmin chubanshe, 1985).

publishers, libraries, student exchanges and many others. What is more, Muslims became more inclusive toward non-Muslims, especially toward the prominent scholars of their times like Cai Yuanpei, Chen Hanzhang, Chen Yun, Zhang Xinglang, Gu Jiegang, and Fang Youlan etc., and they became involved in the promoting and researching activities of Islam.

In conclusion, it is undeniable that Beijing plays a key role, historically and culturally, in Chinese Islam. The role was particularly significant when General Chiang Kai-shek and the government of the Republic of China kept regular contact with Muslims, especially well-known *ahongs* and scholars, who showed enthusiastic support of the government, but the Republic government did not pay respect to Chinese Islam in equal terms. In addition, the Republic's government was severely disturbed by its experience as a semi-colony, the abrupt usurpations by warlord states, social unrest, the invasion of Japan, and last but not least, the absolute poverty of Muslims in conjunction with religious purges by sectarians, etc., that applied the brakes to the transformation of Chinese Islam which *ahongs*, scholars and other public figures hoped would occur at a faster pace. These negative factors interrupted cultural and intellectual exchanges of Muslims, with a sudden cessation of Muslim publications and sudden abstention of representatives in conferences and talks; worse, the old model of mosque education faded away, as Muslim educators admit, but it is regrettable to say that no substitute model replaced this old model in a stalemate of no new governance that revitalized Chinese Islam when facing the new challenges of a new era.

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